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# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

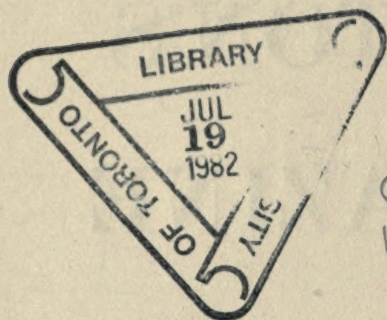
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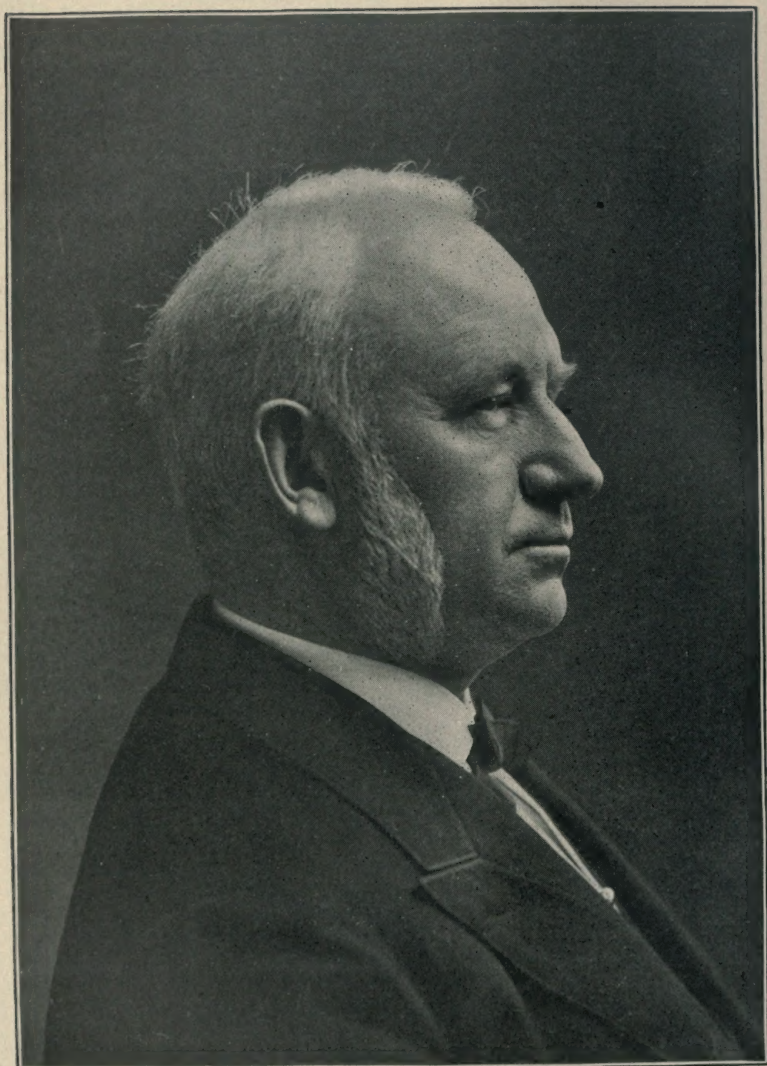
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HON. JOSEPH H. WALKER

*Ex-Chairman House Committee on Banking and Currency*



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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

### Grave Crisis in China

Overshadowing all else in critical importance at this moment is the extremely grave situation in China. The gradual inroads of foreign influence and trade, leading to more and more frequent clashes between native and foreign interests, customs and ideas, have at last resulted in very violent outbreaks in northern China, which threaten to spread throughout the empire. The rioters belong chiefly to a fanatical secret society known as the "Boxers," organized for a queer combination of religious, political and atheletic objects, and of an excessively anti-foreign prejudice. Attacks have been made on many of the Christian missions, the buildings burned, hundreds of native Christians massacred, and now the foreign legations in Peking are gravely threatened.

Of course this has compelled the powers to take action. A nation's common honor demands that it protect its citizens lawfully residing in another country, when such protection is refused or cannot be given by the government of that country. In the present case, the fact that interference may lead to international war and partition of China cannot justify standing idly by and awaiting developments.

**Interference by  
the Powers**

The young emperor of China, Kwang Su, deposed and imprisoned on an island by the empress dowager, has published an appeal to the powers to release and reinstate him, offering to become their agent for the government of the empire and surrender to them all control of customs ports and telegraphs,—a plan rather similar to that by which England governs Egypt through the khedive. There is no way open at present to carry out this policy, but it can hardly be doubted that when order and security are restored the empress dowager's regime will be abolished. A force of 2,300 marines, landed from the British, German, Russian, French, American, Japanese, Italian and Austrian warships at Taku, left Tien-Tsin on June 10th under command of British Vice-Admiral Seymour for Peking. This column struggled through an intensely hostile country, in dire peril, and is now reported to have entered the capital on Sunday the 17th. They were hemmed in by hordes of Boxers who destroyed the railroad in advance and cut off retreat in the rear, while in front were the regular Chinese troops whose attitude has been and is uncertain to the last degree. There is no positive assurance that Admiral Seymour has reached Peking, or that his column is safe.

The dowager empress has thrown off all pretence of restraining the Boxers. She has organized her cabinet on the most pronounced anti-foreign lines, and is bidding the world defiance. The Chinese forts at Taku, at the mouth of the Peiho River, which is the waterway entrance to Tien-Tsin and Peking, opened fire on the foreign fleets on the morning of June 17th; two Russians vessels are reported to have been damaged, but the forts surrendered after seven hours bombardment. Rear Admiral Kempff, with the U. S. gunboat Newark, did not take part in the battle. Meanwhile the Boxers have entered Peking and are holding a high car-



nival of incendiarism and outrage. It was even rumored that the foreign legations had been destroyed and the German ambassador either killed or captured, but the same despatches that report Admiral Seymour's arrival in Peking declare that so far the legations are safe.

**Attitude of  
Russia**

Not the least serious feature of the situation is the uncertain position of Russia.

There are at least nine Russian warships at Taku, on which came some 11,000 troops from Port Arthur. Nearly half of these troops have been landed and sent to the outskirts of Peking, and the latest report is that the Russians are bombarding the city. Although assurances are given that nothing will be done except in cooperation with the powers, there can be no certainty that Russia will not take advantage of the situation to snatch an enormous and controlling prestige in the settlement of China's future. There is the more reason to fear this because of the dowager empress' known preference for Russia and her refusal to let the Chinese army do anything of importance to check the anti-foreign crusade, which is directed principally against Germany and England. In the latest definite reports that came from Peking before the outbreak of hostilities, it was declared that the Russian legation was urging the Chinese government to entrust to Russia the whole task of restoring order.

**Duty of the  
United States**

While there is undoubtedly exaggeration in all the reports, the situation has become so serious that our government has decided to join in armed interference. The Ninth Infantry, now serving in the Philippines, and the battleship Oregon, have been ordered to China; the gunboat Concord has already left Manila, presumably for Taku; and the Yorktown, which was on the Chinese

coast near Chefoo, has joined Admiral Kempff and is doing despatch duty.

The course of events is forcing us into the eastern complications, whether we wish it or not. We must protect our citizens, our missions and our industrial interests already established. That means that we will have to act in general concert with the other powers; so grave a crisis cannot be met by single-handed action. To act in concert means to assume a voice in the final settlement, and this is more than likely to be either outright partition of China or its government by a joint protectorate. In either arrangement Russia's influence and prestige are bound to be enormous, and she can count on the aid of France. There is no blinking the fact, therefore, that the United States may have to stand shoulder to shoulder with England, and probably Germany, to keep open the path of progress and enlightenment and save Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the great East. If the call comes we ought to be ready and willing to respond. There is no call for this country to force its institutions and trade upon any nation or tribe, however degraded, but that is a very different matter from protecting a nucleus of civilization that has already made its way into the midst of barbarism by peaceful and natural methods, and there raised a beacon light of progress.

**Approaching End  
of Boer War**

Fortunately for the possible immediate demands upon England in China, the war in South Africa is practically over. Since our last issue Johannesburg and Pretoria have been taken, and General Buller has forced his way into the Transvaal. Lord Roberts crossed the Vaal River on the 25th, 26th and 27th of May, with slight opposition, and entered Johannesburg on the 31st. President Kruger had already fled from Pretoria in a special



car, fitted up to serve as a traveling "capitol," and at present is believed to be at Alkmar on the railway line east from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay. After his departure a committee of public safety was formed, but had no opportunity to do anything beyond hurrying about 1,000 British prisoners away into the country to the north, and then granting unconditional surrender of the city. The British entered Pretoria on June 5th, and here Lord Roberts has since remained, directing the closing movements of the campaign.

<b>British Communications Threatened</b>	The Free State forces under General De Wet have proved themselves much the more energetic and skilful party in the Boer alliance. After the capture of Johannesburg and Pretoria, the Free Staters by a series of brilliant movements succeeded in drawing General Methuen (who was guarding the railway line) off to the east towards Heilbron, and then, making a sudden westward dash, cut the British line of communications at Roodeval, thirty-five miles north of Kroonstad. About five hundred British troops, constituting the 4th battalion of the Derbyshire regiment, were captured and the railroad torn up for many miles. But General De Wet's force was so inferior in numbers that when Lord Kitchener hurried south and joined Methuen, the Free Staters had to abandon the fruits of their victory. At present General De Wet is sending out raiding parties, but the railroad has been repaired and the lines of defence strengthened.
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<b>Buller's Steady Progress</b>	Meanwhile General Buller has been doing much to retrieve the military reputation which was so nearly whittled away by the Ladysmith campaign. He has been forcing his way steadily up through the northern wedge of Natal, push-
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ing the Boers out of British territory and narrowing the contest down to the famous mountain district over which Britons and Boers fought the brief campaign of 1881. It will be remembered that the present war began in the vicinity of Dundee and Glencoe last October. By the middle of May General Buller had advanced beyond these points and on the 17th occupied Newcastle. In this neighborhood a reverse was sustained on May 21st; Col. Bethune fell into another of the Boer ambushes which have figured so prominently in this war, and lost a squadron of mounted infantry. By May 27th General Buller was bombarding Laing's Nek, and General Hildyard had crossed the Buffalo river into the Transvaal and captured Utrecht. About June 11th the British army succeeded in getting across the mountain range by "Almond's Nek," a pass not shown on the maps, and swung around to the enemy's rear. Threatened with capture, the Boers abandoned both Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill, and General Buller encamped north of Volksrust, well within the Transvaal. He has since been repairing the railway line and reopening the tunnel through Laing's Nek into Natal. The way seems practically clear for him to join forces with Lord Roberts whenever he may be needed.

**The Boer  
Delegates**

The apparent hopelessness of further resistance, together with the ominous looming up of a vaster issue in the Orient, in which so much depends upon England, has practically sidetracked popular interest in the appeal of the Boer delegates for American support. The effort of Messrs. Fischer, Wessels and Wolmarans to get the official aid of the United States government of course bore no fruit. Secretary Hay received them on May 21st, and his reply to their request was so manifestly fair and in accord with international usage that only the most ex-



treme Boer partisans have found anything to criticize in it. After calling attention to the fact that in March last we tendered to Great Britain our good offices as mediator, without result, the secretary went on to quote from the arbitration treaty made at the Hague last year, imposing neutrality in contests which do not concern us, and especially the following convention, which was insisted on by our representatives to the conference, coupling the Monroe doctrine with our promise of non-interference:

"Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with or entangling itself with questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

Since the failure of their mission to Washington the Boer delegates have been visiting large cities throughout the country, holding public meetings, and trying to inject their cause into the national campaign. The democratic platform will undoubtedly have a strong plank declaring for the Boers, but it will be hard to work up much interest in an issue that will be dead and disposed of before the campaign is half finished.

**What Congress  
Has Done**

The republicans in the coming campaign will have to stand for the record of Congress, which adjourned on June 7th, because they have controlled both branches and been responsible for the legislation. On the whole the record is not one that needs much apology, unless on the negative side because of what was not done, especially the failure to provide for civil government in the Philippines. For securing the gold standard by law the administration is entitled to claim the whole credit, although our costly and cumbersome national banking

system has been retained with little improvement. The principle of the right of congress to govern our new possessions has been asserted in the Porto Rico legislation, and a system of government provided for both Porto Rico and Hawaii. The free homes act continues our traditional policy in regard to public lands, and will be popular, while the naval increase is an unavoidable part of our entrance into oriental affairs and a colonial policy. The exclusion of Roberts and Quay, and forced resignation of William A. Clark, are incidents that should gratify every friend of democratic government. They reflect a growing sensitiveness to the moral opinion of the community and point the way to a higher quality of representation in our national legislature.

#### **New Naval Construction**

The prolonged deadlock over the naval appropriation bill and armor plate question was finally broken by agreement on a measure which gives the necessary complete authority for a naval construction program which will cost \$100,000,000 before it is finished. We are to have five new first-class battleships, of about 15,000 tons displacement; six cruisers of 14,000 tons and 23 knots speed; three protected cruisers of 10,000 tons, built on the general plan of the Olympia, and a number of submarine boats. The new cruisers especially will be among the most formidable fighting vessels in the world.

Secretary Long is also authorized to contract for 35,000 tons of armor plate. The senate, until the very last, held out for fixing \$445 per ton as the limit of price to be paid, and only yielded when it became perfectly clear that this restriction would block all naval construction. As it now stands, the secretary, if he cannot get armor plate at a price which he considers "reasonable and equitable," is authorized to build a



government armor-plate factory, and congress appropriated \$4,000,000 to begin work on such a plant if required.

**Philippine  
Policy**

Although General Pio del Pilar, one of the most active Filipino leaders, has been captured (June 8th), and although we have 63,500 men in service in the Philippines, General Otis on his return to Washington says that we shall have to maintain a large army there for a long time "until the robbers and guerillas are stamped out. The maintenance of this large force is necessary owing to the vast extent of territory which we must cover." Since we are about to draw off a large number of troops for China, it seems clear that new reinforcements must be sent from the United States if we are not to invite a fresh outbreak of the insurrection.

Attempts at organizing civil governments in Luzon have met with indifferent success. The chief difficulty is the unreliability of the native officials we have appointed. Reduced as Aguinaldo's force is, there seems to be a widespread latent sympathy of the natives with the insurrection. It crops out in the assassination of Filipinos who have accepted our rule, as well as in this constant treachery of the native officials we are trying to work into service. Our military authorities have issued a series of orders for the formation of local governments, but with the provision that for the present local mayors may be appointed by our army officials. Of this plan, a Manila letter dated April 10th and published in the *New York Tribune*, says that in this the Filipino "reads retraction; he considers it a loophole out of which the Americans can escape and do nothing of what they promise to do; to him it destroys the value of all that has been said before. It is unfortunate for the efforts of the military authority along these

lines that the Filipino is so constituted and so reasons, but it is nevertheless a fact. From the very beginning they have doubted the Americans' fair intentions, and, be the cause of this what it may, they believe in the United States' honesty of purpose little more to-day than they did a year ago."

Senator  
Spooner's  
Evasion

It is a question whether we can really win the confidence of these people unless we adopt a declaration that our intention is to give them independence, as in the case of Cuba. Senator Spooner, in his speech in the senate on May 22d, assumed to meet the argument that we might have simply required Spain to give up her sovereignty and then promised the natives independence, but he evaded the real point. "There never has been an hour," he said, "since the capitulation of Manila to our forces when, without dishonor to our country, we could have sailed away from Manila."

But nobody asks or would have asked any such thing. We would have remained in the Philippines as long as was necessary to aid the people in establishing self-government. That might have taken ten years, but it would have been less costly than this war has proved already. Our promise of independence to Cuba did not require us to "sail away" from Havana. It did save us from going into a bloody war of conquest, and the chances are that the same policy would have had a like peaceful result in the Philippines. No trouble arose there so long as our presence was believed to be simply leading to future independence. The revolt came after our expressed intention to buy and annex the islands. If we had done that by Cuba we should have had a rebellion there, and probably found in Gomez another Aguinaldo.



**"Trusts" as a  
Campaign Issue**

Of the three leading issues in the coming campaign, as defined by Mr. Bryan,—silver, "trusts" and imperialism,—that of trusts seems to promise the least definite results. It is highly uncertain how the different groups of opinion on the subject will "line up." In the closing days of congress both parties made an undignified and insincere bid for popularity by trying to work up an anti-trust record. The republicans introduced a resolution for a constitutional amendment to give congress "power to define, regulate, control, prohibit or dissolve trusts, monopolies or combinations, whether existing in the form of a corporation or otherwise." The democrats could not allow such an enactment to go to the credit of a republican administration, and therefore voted almost to a man against it, on the familiar old argument that it was contrary to "states' rights." This was on June first. Next day the house took up a measure amending the Sherman anti-trust law of 1890 so as to extend its operations and increase the penalties and powers of enforcement, but exempting trade unions from its provisions. Only one congressman dared to vote against this piece of claptrap—Mr. Mann of Illinois,—and we do not know whether he stood out because he believed it not radical enough or because he had too much self-respect to join any such windmill crusade. The measure was not acted upon in the senate.

The "trust" plank in the republican platform just adopted at Philadelphia, as we go to press, is much more rational on the question of organized capital than this farce in congress promised. For the first time in party platforms, the necessity and propriety of capitalistic organization are frankly recognized. The plank reads as follows:

"We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend

our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers and all who are engaged in industry and commerce."

**Growth  
of Rational  
Opinion**

Of course this plank will be ridiculed as a "straddle" and denounced as a surrender to the "trusts," but in reality it draws a fairly correct distinction between legitimate corporate organization and speculative abuses, although phrased in the usual exaggerated language of political Micawberism. The plank is likely to strengthen the party in spite of attacks, because the rabid anti-"trust" sentiment is visibly dwindling.

Much to the surprise of the politicians, organized labor seems to be taking a conservative attitude on this question. Mr. Samuel Gompers, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit last December, spoke strongly against anti-trust legislation, and the workingmen unanimously re-elected him president. The socialist and semi-socialist organizations are largely favorable to trusts, believing them to be the first step toward nationalization of all industries. Even ex-Mayor Jones of Toledo, who polled such a large labor vote last fall as an independent candidate for governor of Ohio, favors large concentration of capital and calls it a natural evolution of industry. On the other hand, even among the organizers of these great corporations there is a growing disposition to recognize rights of public supervision and need of publicity to remedy abuses that confessedly exist. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, in testifying before the industrial commission at Washington, and Mr. James B. Dill, organizer of the Carnegie Company and many other of our largest corporations, have each called attention to the dangers



of speculative combines as opposed to genuine economic organizations of capital, and suggested remedies. Much was expected from the industrial commission by those opposed to "trusts," but its preliminary report, submitted March 1st, recommended nothing more drastic than provisions for publicity, regular detailed reports, free access of stockholders to the books of the company and minutes of directors' meetings, etc. The tendency is clearly towards more common-sense opinion on this question, and whichever party in the campaign is branded as the "trust" party seems likely to gain thereby almost as much as it will lose.

Two Examples of  
"Trust" Folly

At the same time, the popular mind is not usually careful to draw sharp lines of distinction between a general movement and the men who represent it. Such an absurd abuse of power as was attempted by John W. Gates, chairman of the board of directors of the American Steel and Wire Company, in arbitrarily shutting down a large number of plants and giving out discouraging statements calculated to depress the company's stock, with the obvious if not literally proved object of profiting on the stock exchange; or the more recent attempt of the American Ice Company in New York city to double the price of ice on the slimmest of pretexts and defy public opinion, do more to create hostility to large corporations than all the speeches of all the political demagogues.

The fact that Mr. Gates has been forced to resign and the mills have started up under saner management, and that the American Ice Company has been forced to reduce the price of ice to forty cents, and in some cases to the old price of thirty cents, does not wipe out the damaging and serious effects of the original mistakes. Popular distrust increases with every such abuse of power, although the outcome is the strongest possible

evidence that no corporation or combination is powerful enough to defy economic and social laws. It demonstrates that their only path of safety lies in yielding to the public a proper share of the economic gains of large organization. The ice trust experience alone is sufficient refutation of what Mr. Bryan, in his telegram to the *New York Journal* on the subject, calls "proof" that a "monopoly can raise prices if it will and will raise prices if it can." The fact that the rise in ice had to be abandoned does not show that a corporation "can raise prices if it will." It can make the attempt, to be sure, but if the rise is economically unjustifiable the effort almost invariably fails.

#### Politics and the Ice Scandal

The direct political outcome of this ice company matter is a new legacy of scandal to Tammany Hall. The list of stockholders of the company includes the names of Mayor Van Wyck, his brother Augustus, who was democratic candidate for governor in 1898, Richard Croker, John F. Carroll, acting chief of Tammany in Croker's absence, and at least a dozen other prominent leaders besides numerous lesser braves of the Tammany organization.

Mayor Van Wyck, on examination before Justice Gaynor in the supreme court on June 9th, testified that he owns 4,200 shares of stock, purchased for \$250,000 with money borrowed from the Garfield National Bank. President Gelshenen, of the bank, denies this but admits that his bank loaned \$50,000 to Charles W. Morse, president of the ice company, for the use of Mr. Van Wyck, and turned in the mayor's note to the bank. Where the mayor got the balance of this great sum is still a mystery, but there is no mystery about the fact that he has subjected himself to possible removal by Governor Roosevelt for becoming financially interested



in a concern that has contract dealings with the city of which he is the chief executive.

But, more than this, what business has a Tammany official to be owning stock in a trust anyway? Is not Tammany the special friend of the poor and foe of "monopoly?" Is not the wigwam getting all ready to support Bryan enthusiastically at Kansas City, and then welcome him to New York with open arms, supplying him with Madison Square Garden again, in all probability, for a lurid anti-trust speech, while Van Wyck, Croker, Carroll and all the rest sit in an approving row behind him on the platform? Really, what a lean and shivering mouse would scuttle away if the mountain of humbug could suddenly be lifted off this anti-trust political crusade.

**Kentucky  
Contest Settled**

The United States supreme court has decided that there is no occasion for it to interfere in the governorship contest in Kentucky. It holds, in the language of Chief Justice Fuller, that "where controversies over the election of state officers have reached the state courts in the manner provided and have been determined in accordance with state constitutions and laws, the cases must necessarily be rare in which the interference of this court can be properly invoked."

The Kentucky courts having already decided in favor of the democratic contestant, Governor Taylor at once withdrew from the field. J. W. C. Beckham, who succeeded to Goebel's claim to the seat upon the latter's assassination, has taken office. Although his legal title is now beyond dispute, the result is a flagrant moral outrage. It is no longer a case of Taylor *versus* Beckham, but the State of Kentucky itself is on trial before the public opinion of the nation. The country expects Kentucky to repudiate Goebelism at the polls

next November and choose a legislature which will repeal the Goebel election law and reestablish genuine democratic government.

**Death of the  
Duke of Argyll**

The death of George Douglass Campbell, Duke of Argyll, which occurred late in April, removed another—almost the last—of the old school English statesmen who guided the politics of the empire during the last half century. The late duke, like Mr. Gladstone, was more than a statesman; along with his political activities he was a prolific author, a notable lecturer and something of a theologian. Twice a member of Gladstone's cabinet, he separated from his old leader early in the 80's on the Irish home rule question, becoming a strong opponent of that policy during the remainder of his active life. Among his most notable political and historical writings are: "The Relation of Landlord and Tenant," "The Eastern Question," "The Economic History of Scotland," and "The New British Constitution." His title and vast Scottish estates pass now to the Marquis of Lorne, son-in-law of the queen, and once governor-general of Canada. The new duke is already a man of 45.



## MR. BRYAN'S PROCLAMATION

Mr. William J. Bryan occupies a unique position in the politics of this country. He is not merely the candidate to be of the democratic party, but for all purposes of doctrine and policy he is the party. The old-time leaders who, prior to 1896, were conspicuous figures in the councils of the party, have been turned down or ordered into line by Mr. Bryan. Those who refuse to obey, and they are not many, are ordered "outside the breastworks" and are forbidden to participate in the party councils.

There is one respect in which he stands out distinct from any other political leader in this country. He is bold, unequivocal and defiant if not reckless in his assertion of the doctrines and policies for which he stands. No other public man in America, who is a candidate for office, is so outspoken on controverted questions. This is a quality that the American people admire. They like courage and consistency, they are unstinted in their admiration for a man who will stand by his convictions regardless of consequences.

In the *North American Review* for June, Mr. Bryan has an elaborate article on "The Issue in the Presidential Campaign." This is not an offhand speech but a carefully prepared declaration on questions of public policy, and to all intents and purposes is the official proclamation of the democratic party. It is worth

while therefore to consider with more than passing care the doctrine and policy here presented by Mr. Bryan. If he is right in his position he ought to be elected to the presidency, because he can be relied on to carry out his policy. But if he is wrong on these questions, he is for the same reason the most dangerous man that has ever aspired to the presidential office.

He opens with the characteristic assertion that the conflict is "between the dollar and the man." This has a plausible seeming but it is an inaccurate, misleading statement. The conflict is not between the dollar and the man, but between the men with dollars and the men without. The real issue which underlies the whole discussion of political issues, as incorporated in public policy, is not the dollar *versus* the man but wealth *versus* poverty. The question is not how to help man to fight wealth, but how to stimulate him to increase it. In no other way can poverty be lessened and the comfort, culture and civilization of the masses be increased. Mr. Bryan goes in ecstasy over Andrew Jackson, and selects his overthrow of the second bank of the United States as the monument of his greatness. Nothing could better establish Mr. Bryan's unacquaintance with the principles of scientific banking. If there is one act in Jackson's whole career more infamous than another it is his attack upon the bank of the United States.

The two banks of the United States constitute, with the exception of the Suffolk bank of Boston, about all this country has ever had of sound banking principles.

The first bank of the United States was created as the outcome of Hamilton's report of 1790. The bill creating it was passed February 25th, 1791. The country was then using various forms of government paper money—continental, colonial and state notes—which



were constantly depreciating and ultimately fell to one cent on the dollar.

The bank of the United States put the country on a specie basis; its notes were as good as gold and circulated throughout the entire country. It was a financial success to its stockholders, and, besides doing all the business of the government for nothing, the treasury realized a profit of nearly three-quarters of a million dollars from its stock, which was at a premium all the time. The refusal to renew its charter was soon followed by an era of wild-cat state banks and depreciated paper currency. Much of the "shinplaster" money was at a discount of twenty per cent., and the treasury notes in which government salaries were paid were little better.

By 1816 the second bank of the United States became a national necessity. It began business 1817, and very soon changed the financial conditions of the country from bankruptcy to solvency. Besides restoring specie payments and raising the paper money of the country to par, it lowered the rate of interest, gave financial credit and stability to the country, paid good profits to its stockholders, paid a handsome bonus to the government, and rendered the treasury a valuable service for nothing. In overthrowing the bank of the United States and establishing the sub-treasury system, Jackson destroyed one of the best and gave us one of the worst financial institutions this or any other country ever had. He who can praise Jackson for this may be expected to advocate fiat money, forty-cent dollars, and government suppression of corporations.

After quoting Lincoln as saying that "the republicans were 'both for the man and the dollar, but, in case of conflict, the man before the dollar,'" and some strong expressions against monarchy, Mr. Bryan says: "I have quoted at length from these eminent authorities in order to convince the reader that those who, at this time,

speak out against the methods and purposes of plutocracy are not sounding new and groundless alarms." Of course Mr. Lincoln was a friend of man and an enemy of monarchy but how does that affect Mr. Bryan's position? True opposition to plutocracy does not consist in mere sounding phrases but in wise policy. When Andrew Jackson overthrew the bank of the United States, an act which had Lincoln's everlasting condemnation, he was not attacking plutocracy but destroying a sound financial institution.

Referring to the growth of wealth during the period since the civil war Mr. Bryan says: "High duties were placed upon the necessities of life on the ground that infant industries required assistance, with the result that the owners of the aided industries grew rich, while home-owning decreased and tenancy increased among the consumers." By this Mr. Bryan evidently intends to convey the idea that during the period since the civil war the masses in this country have been disinherited and become poor by virtue of the development of our national industry. On this point he either knowingly misrepresents the obvious facts or is lamentably ignorant regarding them.

According to the census, which is the best authority we have, the number of owned farms in 1880 was 2,984,306, and of farm-owning families in 1890 there were 3,142,746. The number of families owning their homes separate from farms in 1890 was 2,923,671, making a total of 6,066,417 families owning homes with or without farms. In other words, in 1890 47 8-10 per cent. of the families of the United States owned their homes either with or without farms. It is undoubtedly true that in our large cities home hiring has increased, but this is no evidence whatever of deterioration of the social standard and welfare of the people. The tendency is not for laborers to own homes in the



city, it would be a misfortune for them so to do. Hiring gives them greater mobility; they can change employers with less hesitancy, they can demand the best houses that capital and competition can furnish, by being free to hire the best they can get in the market. During the last ten years the housing of the laborers in our large cities, especially in New York, has improved more rapidly than the housing of any other class of home-owners in the country, except the very rich. The building and sanitary laws and other improvements that public sentiment has forced upon property owners is compelling the adoption of scientific appointments in buildings for laborers' homes, so that in all the new buildings they get the best improvements that the application of science can furnish. It is neither true that home owning is decreasing nor that hired homes are deteriorating in quality. On the contrary home-owners are increasing and hired homes are improving.

After praising the democrats of 1896 and denouncing the crime of 1873 Mr. Bryan proceeds to classify political vice and virtue thus: "If a man opposes the gold standard, trusts and imperialism—all three—the chances are a hundred to one that he is in favor of arbitration, the income tax and the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, and is opposed to government by injunction and the black-list. If a man favors the gold standard, the trusts and imperialism—all three—the chances are equally great that he regards the demand for arbitration as an impertinence, defends government by injunction and the black-list, views the income tax as a 'discouragement to thrift,' and will oppose the election of Senators by the people."

This may be good "cross and crown" literature, but it is poor statistics and worse history. No such grouping of opinions can be sustained by the facts. In

the first place, in the eastern and particularly the manufacturing states an overwhelming majority favor the gold standard, and it is exactly in those states where the opposition to the black-list almost exclusively exists. There is no opposition to the black-list, or the sweatshop, or the contract convict labor system, or to the long hours of labor, or to baby labor in the workshops, in the South and the far West, and yet there is where the opposition to imperialism and the gold standard is strongest.

The most pronounced, indeed the simon-pure anti-imperialists, are the followers of Edward Atkinson, Carl Schurz and the anti-imperialist league, backed by the New York *Evening Post*, *Springfield Republican* and the mugwumps generally. Are they opposed to the black-list and government by injunction, or in favor of industrial arbitration? On the contrary, they are the most anti-labor group of people in this country. For a quarter of a century this group has been conspicuous for its opposition to every form of labor legislation.

During the last year or eighteen months, what class of employers have been most ready to grant increases of wages and recognition of labor unions? Is it the little capitalists, for whom Mr. Bryan is sponsor? Not at all. It is the large concerns, the great corporations. In scores of instances these very large concerns have increased wages and some of them twice during the last year without having been asked. On the first day of May the Standard Oil Company increased the wages of its whole force, of more than 30,000 workingmen 10 per cent., and reduced their working time an hour a day. Will Mr. Bryan name any little concern that ever did such a thing? The simple truth is that the black-listing and the petty nagging antagonism to labor legislation does not come from the large corporations. They have a better way of making profits.



But let us go a step farther. If Mr. Bryan's generalization is true we ought to find the best conditions, the most friendly relations to labor, in those sections of the country where the people are almost unanimously opposed to the gold standard, trusts and imperialism. The South, for instance, is definitely opposed to all three, yet the condition of labor in all respects is the worst there of any place in this country, and worse than in many places in Europe. Where were Mr. Bryan's anti-gold standard, anti-trust, anti-imperialism friends in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia when the workingmen of those states asked for a law limiting the age of working children to twelve years to prevent the little tots of seven from working twelve hours a day, and in many cases at night? Where were Mr. Bryan's friends last winter when the child-labor bill before the Georgia legislature was killed? There were no gold standard imperialists there. They were all 16-to-1 men.

Again, where are the state or national platforms of Mr. Bryan's party containing intelligible serious utterances in favor of labor legislation? The populist platform of 1896, of which he is the best representative, had none, the Chicago platform had none, Mr. Bryan's present proclamation has none. The truth is, no democratic, populist, pro-silver, anti-trust or anti-imperialist platform or proclamation has ever definitely endorsed the policy of short hours, factory legislation, education for working children, abolition of sweatshop work, or efficient measures leading to the permanent improvement of the conditions of labor.

On the money question Mr. Bryan is entirely frank and as entirely wrong. Like most people of his financial school he argues that there is not gold enough in the world to fill the function of money, and says: "Upon this basis of metallic money rests a large volume

of paper money, and upon the various forms of money rests the world's indebtedness." This seems to be another case of sacrificing accuracy for euphony. Mr. Bryan seems not to know that as civilization advances new instruments of wealth circulation come into existence, and are created not by government at all but by private enterprise in the form of checks, drafts and bank credits. These to-day constitute about 95 percent. of the transactions in this country. Credits do not rest on money, as Mr. Bryan imagines, but on wealth that every hour is coming into existence. It is the function of banking to furnish the machinery by which this credit does the work of money, in a constantly increasing proportion of the world's business. There is no hour in the day when half the debts of this country could be paid with all the money in existence. It is the great law of averages and equilibrium, by which these credits offset each other and only insignificant balances have to be paid in money, that enables this immense business movement to go on. He who is ignorant of the law by which this takes place is ignorant of the essential element in the science of modern finance.

To say the world's indebtedness rests on money is to put oneself beyond the pale of competent discussion. Wealth, not money, is the basis of credit, and the greater the production and variety of wealth the greater is the possible indebtedness with a diminishing proportion of money. If it were true that the volume of money must increase in direct ratio with the volume of business, industrial progress would have been arrested long ago for the sheer want of money.

On the matter of prices Mr. Bryan's doctrine is somewhat unfortunate. He wants free silver in order that prices may rise, and yet he wants trusts abolished because prices do rise. The crime of the gold standard is that it lowers prices, the crime of the trust is that it



raises prices. If large corporations lower prices they should be abolished, because in so doing they injure the small competitors, and if they put up prices they should be suppressed because they are taxing the people by monopoly. Indeed, Mr. Bryan's utterances on prices show a painful unfamiliarity with economic law. His whole conception of the operation of economic forces appears to be on the same plane as his assumption that the value of gold is fixed by law, and that free coinage at 16-to-1 would more than double the value of silver. The idea that cost of production and economic conditions affect the prices of products seems foreign to his mind.

The same is true in his talk about "trusts." He seems to be not the least concerned with the fact that corporations have come into existence as an unavoidable necessity, or that without them the world's present production would be absolutely impossible, but he speaks of corporations, which he loves to call "trusts," as if they were something which can be made to come and go at the will of the politician. Yet, on this question of so-called trusts, which he regards as one of the three vital issues before the nation, he has nothing better to offer than the arbitrary, uneconomic as well as thoroughly undemocratic proposition to restrict the business of corporations to the limits of the state granting their charters, except by special license granted by the secretary of the treasury. If it were not unconstitutional this would mean that for corporations in one state to be permitted to do business in another they must be subjected to the caprice of a political agent in Washington, who would have the power to grant and revoke the freedom to do business. Nothing since the thirteenth century quite so paternal as this has ever been seriously proposed in the name of statesmanship. Such a policy would simply make the business of the country the

prey of political corruptionists. It would be the extension of Tammany methods to the entire nation.

“The republican party cannot be relied upon to deal with the trust question,” he says. The democratic party alone can be trusted with that task because of its interest in the people. Well, there is perhaps no place, outside of the South, where the democratic party of Mr. Bryan's stamp has more complete control than in New York city. The whole machinery of government is in the hands of a pro-Bryan organization. It is not merely Jeffersonian, it is Bryanite to the core, free silver to the hilt and anti-republican to its last breath. As if to furnish the world an object-lesson of what real Bryan democratic treatment of trusts is, it has given us an illustration not in theory or in high-sounding sentences, but in real practice.

The New York city ice combination is no petty Rockefeller or Carnegie affair, it is a typical Bryanized Tammany undertaking. With the aid of a bank president, it just took hold of the multitude of small ice companies, issued an enormous amount of paper stock, distributed more than a million of it to the leaders and office-holders of the democratic party; the mayor, dock commissioners, grand leader Croker and all who could be of service in using the political power of the government to prevent the ordinary competition of the outsiders. Having thus created monopoly it immediately doubled the price of ice to the consumers. This was not done by a lot of ordinary selfish capitalists, but by the leading lights of the Bryan democracy, who have a monopoly of the political management of New York city. They did not do the ordinary thing of putting in some improved plants, they simply cornered the opportunities of bringing ice to the city, and doubled the price to furnish a corruption fund by which the public was to be robbed. Thus far this is the only case in



which the Bryan democratic party has had a free hand at dealing with the trust question, and the success with which it did it is recorded as one of the greatest scandals of recent times.

The undertaking had Mr. Bryan's characteristic of courage in the greatest degree. It was as fearless and daring as a train robbery. The method by which it dealt with the subject was as bold and uncompromising as that by which the same party deals with the suffrage in states where its power is equally undisputed.

The real test of the virtues of a party is not to be found in its verbal promises but in its practice, when it has full power and a free hand. In the states and cities where Mr. Bryan's followers have most complete control, freedom perishes, labor is degraded, beneficent economic legislation is neglected, corruption is rampant, and the worst attempts at monopoly for economic plunder are boldly perpetrated.

Judging from Mr. Bryan's carefully prepared proclamation, there is not a single important public question upon which he occupies an approximately defensible position—defensible in the light of the best thought and experience of modern times. On money he is opposed to everything science, experience and the best statesmanship of the world sustains. He would substitute fiat for value, irredeemable paper for current redemption notes, and half-value coin for standard money. In short, his whole attitude on money, currency and banking is crude, primitive, unscientific and contrary to modern experience. He would suppress industrial development by the most arbitrary, oppressive, mediæval paternalism. On labor he freely indulges in euphonious phrases but says nothing definite or constructive. On practical questions such as the shortening of the working day, compulsory education for children, improvement of workshop and factory conditions, sup-

pression of the vile system of the sweatshops in our large cities, inauguration of labor insurance for wage workers—on these and similar practical propositions directly affecting the conditions of labor throughout the country Mr. Bryan has not a word to say. In short, he is an eloquent scolder, not a constructive leader. He is at his best in describing calamity, at his worst in suggesting constructive policy.

He has been continually before the public since 1896. During that time the whole face of the nation has been changed, prosperity has replaced depression and despair, tramps have disappeared, wages have been increased, employment multiplied, general optimism has taken the place of universal pessimism, and he seems not to have known that anything has happened. He still talks as if factories were closing, bankruptcies increasing, wages falling, tramps multiplying, and the masses being fed in soup houses. There is nothing to indicate that he has taken on a single new idea or corrected an old heresy during all this time. He repeats his lingo about free coinage by this country alone, as if nothing had occurred since 1870. True, he displays tenacity and courage, but it is the tenacity of superstition and not of intelligent observation, and the courage of a fatalist, not of an enlightened leader. His declaration confirms the cumulative testimony of his continuous utterances since the Chicago convention, that he is an interminable talker, but is devoid of constructive statemanship.



## OUR BUNGLING FINANCIAL SYSTEM

HON. JOSEPH H. WALKER, EX-CHAIRMAN HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
BANKING AND CURRENCY

The act of congress approved March 14, 1900, to define and fix the standard of value, etc., does not in any way change the standard of value fixed in the act of July 14, 1890. It does, however, add to existing law provisions detailing the method by which the parity with gold of all moneys issued by the government shall be maintained, and making such provisions mandatory upon the secretary of the treasury, thus making the gold standard as secure as it can be made by law under our present bad financial and banking system.

It is the final and necessary act to make as good as it can possibly be made, the existing system; but the system is condemned by every acknowledged financial authority in Europe and in America as well. All who have carefully studied the subject agree that no other country that "maintains the gold standard" has so bad a system. After twenty-two years this act restores the country to very nearly the financial position it held in 1878 when it lapsed into silver coinage. It thoroughly prepares the way for a safe transition from *the worst* to *the best* financial system in the world, and that without the possibility of the slightest shock or loss to legitimate banking or to any person or interest, and to the incalculable gain of the country as a whole, especially in securing the reduction of present discount rates over the larger part of the country by more than one-half.

The law of March 14, 1900, has furnished the least possible relief to the banking situation, especially in country districts, as compared with the demands of the people. In figuring out the practical workings of any

system of issuing currency it must be remembered that, taking all banks together, only one-fifth of them are so situated that the persons they serve can use a large amount of currency. An average of only 80 per cent. of currency that any bank is allowed to issue in normal banking can be kept in actual circulation. The amount actually kept in circulation by such banks runs from 60 per cent. or less to 100 per cent., averaging about 80. It must also be remembered that our experience proves that the customers of banks in large cities can use so little currency in their business that it does not pay city banks to issue any currency. At the price of United States bonds in the spring of 1898 banks in central reserve cities could average to pay 6 per cent. dividends on their capital stock and loan their funds at 2.98+ per cent. Under the law of March 14th, 1900, they can make their loan for practically the same rate, or 2.98- per cent. (See examples Nos. 3 and 4, hereinafter given.) A strictly country bank to pay 6 per cent. dividends on its capital stock in the spring of 1898 must have charged 7.34+ per cent. on its loan, buying only the amount of bonds the law requires. To-day under the law of March 14th they can make their loans at 7.28 per cent. (See examples Nos. 1 and 2.) A strictly country bank to pay a 10 per cent. dividend on its capital stock, in the spring of 1898, must have charged 10.65 per cent. on its loans. (See example No. 5.) To-day they must charge on their loans 11.02 per cent., if they take out currency to the amount of their capital. (See example No. 6.) These examples show that discounts on notes cannot be reduced anywhere under the law of March 14, 1900. A strictly "country bank" cannot exist either under the conditions of 1898 or under the law of March 14, 1900. While we now have banks in country districts, a strictly "country bank" does not and cannot exist under the national



law requiring a bond-secured currency. The requirement of bonds robs them of their loanable capital at once to the amount of the bonds bought. Deposits to the city borrower are identical with the currency of the country bank "in hand" to the country borrower. The trade of the country bank customer is with persons who are not accustomed to and cannot use checks. As is shown by the examples herein given, to-day city banks paying 6 per cent. dividends on their capital can make loans of 2.99- per cent., while a country bank must charge 7.29+ per cent. to pay the same dividends on the capital. Under the French, German, or the old New England Suffolk system, which furnished a currency equally safe, loans could be made at 2.98- per cent., in the large cities, and for only 4.55+ per cent. instead of 7.29+ per cent. as now, by a strictly "country bank," each paying the same dividends. There is no conceivable way to equalize the rates of discount over the whole country, as in France, Germany, etc., reducing the rates in the country districts, other than to return to the system of bank currency approved by the experience of the ages.

The division of the treasury into two parts, one the issue and redemption department, and the other the business department, is not a question of finance but purely and only a matter of book-keeping. The arrangement is absolutely necessary in order to show clearly the operation of the treasury as a "banking agent," which it now is, as distinguished from its operation as a "fiscal agent," which it was designed it should only be when it was established. In fact, the only purpose of establishing the sub-treasury was declared to be that the government should have nothing whatever to do with the finances of the country other than the coining of money and the keeping and paying out of the moneys it received from taxes and other dues. This division of

the funds in the treasury provided for in the act could as well have been made at any time in the last thirty years, as an "administrative act" under the then existing law, as to have waited for the mandate of congress in this act. This division of the treasury funds cannot, by any possibility, be of any advantage to the treasury or furnish any security to the people, in any possible way, in any conceivable contingency, other than as a clear exhibit of the free moneys in the treasury and of the banking condition of the country, and also of the unjustifiable and dangerous relation of the treasury to the banks.

Unlike any other country in the world, the whole banking system of this country is assisted and supported in all financial crises out of the public treasury and from taxes collected from the people. This bad system, requiring at all times a fund of from \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000 of idle tax money in the United States treasury, is an unnecessary and grievous burden upon the people, initiating and intensifying monetary crises and industrial depressions, and of a kind unknown in France or Germany. In every other country, instead of being maintained by the people's treasury and at an annual cost of scores of millions of dollars in unnecessary taxes collected from the people, the banks, not the government, maintain the parity with gold of all moneys, and in times of trial come to the assistance and support of the government treasury, not the government treasury to the support of the banks. The surplus funds at the command of the public treasury of every other country rarely reach \$50,000,000, and average a much less sum, even in the treasury of the strongest governments.

The right to coin subsidiary silver money is a very necessary provision for the proper use of the silver bullion, and ought to have been the law from the first.

National banks may now issue notes up to the par of bonds deposited. This is only justice to the banks, so long as the deposit of bonds by banks is required in order that they may avail themselves of what in every other country on the face of the earth has been considered, in theory and practice, one of the normal functions of all banks, and without securing such circulation in any manner other than by the total assets of the banks. The issuing of "currency demand notes" free of cost, to the banks, in order to assist the people in cheaply and safely making the necessary exchanges of their products, has been the custom with banks of discount from time immemorial, and was in this country up to the time of the war of disunion. The releasing of banks from their natural obligation to maintain the gold standard, including the maintenance of parity with gold of all kinds of money, enforced upon them in every other country, and the depriving the people of their natural right to put in circulation their own demand notes through the banks they establish, *which is their only means of so doing*, and the robbing of the people of their banking capital in compelling them to buy United States bonds, is *the most fruitful source of monetary panics and industrial depressions* of any existing provisions of national law. It works the most oppressive restrictions upon trade now existing in law. It increases the cost of production and distribution of products, in making discount rates, everywhere excepting in large cities, exorbitant. In all other countries interest rates are very nearly the same in city and country in every part of their territory.

The provision for refunding certain bonds finds no justification in the experience of the country or in the present condition of the United States treasury. The purchase price of United States bonds in the market during the last twenty years, except in occasional mon-



etary crises, shows the operation of the law to cause a great loss to the United States treasury. Stripped of all extraneous matter, the law requires the secretary of the treasury to exchange on demand all outstanding bonds due in 1904, 1907 and 1908. These bonds would be in the control of the treasurer on an average in about seven years. They are to be exchanged at a price to yield an income to the purchaser at  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. per annum, by issuing for them a bond due in thirty years, practically paying interest on the new bonds of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., 2 per cent. out of the United States treasury and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in remission of taxes. The treasury is to pay in cash the difference in their present market value, reckoning their income at  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., and their face. This arrangement does not appear to be to the advantage of the government, considering that the price of government bonds in the market before and at the time the law was passed paid an income to the purchaser on their market price of less than 2 per cent. Of the \$250,000,000 loan of 1871 at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest, the United States bonds issued were bought by the United States treasury at a premium down to about \$50,000,000 in amount before they became due. Of this \$50,000,000 remaining unpaid, that became due in 1891, the people freely exchanged in 1891 more than half of them, namely, \$25,364,500, for new bonds bearing 2 per cent. per annum, payable at the option of the government, rather than take the money for their matured bonds. An income of 2 per cent. per annum on United States bonds is not exceptional. Two years before, namely in 1889, for the whole twelve months the price of all kinds of United States bonds averaged to yield an income of only 2.095 per cent. per annum. During the whole three years of 1887-88-89 at their price the bonds yielded to their purchasers only 2.292 per cent. income. During the whole ten years from 1883 to 1892 their

price averaged to yield an income to the purchaser of only 2.462 per cent. per annum. Paying 2 per cent. interest out of the treasury, and remitting one-half of the 1 per cent. tax on the currency taken out, is costing the people  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum as surely as though the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was paid directly through the treasury. The treasury department states the face value of the bonds outstanding January 1, 1900, covered by the act of March 14th, as \$839,055,250. The price they were selling for showed their market value to be \$947,388,203.75, which paid an income to the purchaser of only 1.98 per cent. The government price fixed in the act is estimated at \$923,602,397.32, or \$23,785,806.42 less than their actual price in open market, forty-four days *before* the act was approved. Notwithstanding this apparently heavy loss to their owners in exchanging these bonds with the government for 2 per cent. thirty-year bonds, their price went up so that on April 1st, seventeen days *after* the bill was approved, their price in the market aggregated \$9,473,146.62 more than on January 1st. This price was paid for them in order that their purchasers might exchange them at the treasury for a thirty-year bond paying 2 per cent. interest per annum, at an apparent loss of \$33,258,954.05. At the price they were bought for on April 1st they would pay an income to the purchaser of only 1.96 per cent. per annum. It would seem that there must be some rational explanation of this very peculiar financial phenomena. The owners of United States bonds as a body are generally believed to be able to take care of themselves in any contest with congress.

First, these bonds to yield  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. income (the 2 per cent. paid plus the  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. allowed in reduced taxation on the currency issued on them), were worth to the government to allow  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on them only \$909,253,721.84, making an apparent loss to the

government at the  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. income rate at which it took the old bonds in and the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest which is practically allowed on the new bonds, of \$14,348,675.48 in the exchange of the old for the new bonds; furthermore, putting the payment of the debt out of the hands of the government for thirty years instead of being payable now on an average of about seven years.

Secondly, it is nothing to the point to show that the difference between the value of the bonds covered by the law, to pay  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. income, which is the value the government takes them in at, is \$923,602,397.32, and the sum they are actually worth on the market to pay 2 per cent. income is \$938,205,056.55, and that therefore the government is saving \$14,602,659.23; for, as I have shown, the holders of these bonds will get the equivalent of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. These bonds, running thirty years and paying to their owners the equivalent of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. income, are worth \$933,524,480.60, to pay 2 per cent. income the day they are exchanged with the treasury, and that has been the price of the United States bonds in the market under favorable conditions.

Third, if these \$839,055,250 of bonds are all exchanged for the new bonds to the same amount, the treasurer will have paid out in premiums \$84,547,147.32 cash, and given besides other bonds running thirty years, practically bearing  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest, worth in the market at the price United States bonds sold for on January 1, 1891, and on January 1, 1900, and at many other considerable periods, \$933,524,480.60, as I have before said. That is to say, the government will have paid the bondholders \$84,547,147.32 in cash and given them back bonds to the same amount worth on the market an excess of \$94,469,230.60, a total of \$179,016,377.92 apparently against the people in the



refunding of the bonds. The question many are asking is whether the bondholders or the people profit most in this exchange.

Again, it must not be forgotten that the wise management of a government treasury and the management of the funds of a private person are widely different. Private persons and corporations are free to recoup, in their money transactions. They can use their "money in hand" in buying securities, lending money on call, and in many other ways, and when short of funds can borrow money "on call" or for a more or less extended fixed period. None of these things are practicable in a public treasury. Compounding interest on securities is practical and necessary to a private person in managing his funds, in order to calculate the advantage or disadvantage of any monetary transaction. It is delusive in the management of a public treasury. A private person would make an enormous income on a surplus of several hundred million dollars in his possession, for a period which he could calculate with reasonable certainty, such as the government has had in the treasury for many years, but the advantage to the government is nothing. To know whether a financial operation is a profit or a loss to a *government treasury* in any given case, we must know whether a larger or smaller amount must be collected in taxes in a given time, in the one case or the other. If the bonds covered by the law were allowed to mature, the amount collected in taxes to pay the principal and interest would approximate \$1,058,500,000. The amount to be collected to pay the principal and interest at 2 per cent. on the thirty-year bonds in taxes, plus the \$84,547,147 paid out of the treasury in premiums, will approximate \$1,427,035,547. Thus about \$368,535,547 more will have to be collected in taxes during the time these new thirty-year bonds run, under the funding scheme of the bill, than would be

necessary to collect if the three classes of bonds were allowed to mature and were then paid. To this vast sum must be added the remission of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum in taxes on the currency taken out, amounting to millions of dollars. There can be no reasonable doubt, in view of the past, that at the maturity of the three classes of bonds, the refunding of which is provided for, they could be extended at 2 per cent. interest per annum, with no remission of taxes as an inducement to buyers of the bonds, and also have the bonds made payable at the option of the government after one year, instead of putting their payment beyond the power of the people for thirty years. By putting the payment of these bonds out of the power of the secretary of the treasury for thirty years, he will be obliged to continue the vicious practice of depositing in the banks millions upon millions of public moneys, in order to prevent panics in the money market, and of causing industrial depression by needlessly keeping hundreds of millions of dollars locked up in the treasury.

If we had a financial and banking system that allowed the secretary of the treasury to transact the business of the government without locking up a dollar of the money in the treasury, when accumulating funds to pay off bonds at maturity, as every other country has, these makeshifts would not have to be resorted to. Our bonds should be issued payable at the option of the government, like those of European governments. The hands of the treasurer should not be tied for thirty years or for ten, in any case. The government should have retained the option of paying these bonds at any time, when they were issued. If the loan of 1898 had been made upon the condition proposed in a motion to make the bonds payable after one year at the discretion of the secretary of the treasury, the secretary would have been able to refund these bonds to-day at 2 per

cent. without the inducement of a reduction of taxes of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. per annum on the currency taken out upon them, or of depositing a dollar of public moneys in banks.

In the face of the facts of the situation clearly pointed out by me, in the house on April 26, 1898, \$15,-000,000 was most foolishly and inexcusably lost to the people in the terms of the bill (providing for the ten years' 3 per cent. \$400,000,000 loan of 1898) on the \$200,000,000 issued under that act. This loss is confessed in the act of March 14, 1900, by the statement of the rates at which that loan is refunded and by the making of the loans provided for in that bill payable at the option of the government after one year. It is no more excusable for a nation than for an individual to needlessly continue in debt, and yet congress seems to have proceeded upon the theory that a national debt is a national blessing. Congressmen cannot justify themselves to the people in reducing the war taxes, which are in no way burdensome, until every dollar of the debt incurred for the Spanish war and since is paid.

Again, that there is an annual loss to the people in taxation, direct and indirect, of about \$60,000,000 per annum in our most indefensible financial and banking system, is susceptible of easy demonstration. That the act of March 14, 1900, does not mitigate the oppressiveness to agricultural communities of our financial and banking system by a single farthing is equally susceptible of demonstration. How long such oppression shall be permitted is for the people to determine.

It is also certain that the treasury of the United States has not of itself maintained for a day the parity of our silver and paper money with gold from 1879 to 1900. It has been done by the private action of the bankers and brokers of the country. The shame of it is that the secretary of the treasury has been from the



first as helpless in the matter as a babe, without the voluntary support of the bankers and brokers, and is now. The act of March 14, 1900, does not add to his essential financial power to maintain gold payment by the smallest fraction, excepting in the form of United States bonds he may issue to do so. It does, however, favorably affect the public mind.

Never was more necessary, more important, or more patriotic financial action taken by any men toward their government since the world began than that taken by J. Pierpont Morgan and Augustus Belmont in January, 1894, supported as they were by all the banking institutions of the country, and practically of England as well. But for it disaster such as no man can estimate would have fallen upon the country. The compensation they received for their service was due them, and as nothing to the risk they took. The financial and banking laws and institutions of every other country make it a part of their normal action to maintain all moneys at a parity with gold, as ours do not. To-day Secretary Gage officially is in precisely the same legal, financial, political and moral condition in maintaining parity that Secretary Carlisle was in 1894. The difference is in management, not in system or in law.

The crisis that arose in 1894 is as sure to come again, so that Mr. Morgan and Mr. Belmont or their like must come to the front to relieve it, as that like causes produce like effects, or that history repeats itself. In the future as in the past, only the patriotic and voluntary action of bankers and brokers will maintain parity with gold under existing laws. It will not be maintained by the natural action of our financial and banking system, until our laws are made to conform to the natural laws of finance and banking, as do those of France, Germany and other countries.

## EXAMPLES OF BANKING OPERATIONS UNDER VARIOUS SYSTEMS

No. 1. Six per cent. Dividend Paying Country Bank, under the Law of March 14, 1900:

Capital . . . . .	\$150,000.00
Deposits . . . . .	57,143.00
Currency . . . . .	150,000.00

Total . . . . .	<u>\$357,143.00</u>
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## DEDUCTIONS

Paid for 2 per cent. bonds . . . . .	\$150,000.00
5 per cent. redemption fund . . . . .	7,500.00
15 per cent. reserve on deposits . . . . .	8,571.45
20 per cent. currency not in circulation . . . . .	30,000.00
	<u>\$196,071.45</u>

Possible loanable funds . . . . .	<u><u>\$161,071.55</u></u>
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## RECEIPTS

Exchange account . . . . .	\$ 1,000.00
Interest on \$150,000 U. S. bonds 2 per cent. . . . .	3,000.00
Discount rates on \$161,071.55, loanable funds 7.29	
per cent. . . . .	<u>11,750.00</u>

	<u>\$ 15,760.00</u>
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## EXPENSES

$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. tax on currency . . . . .	\$ 750.00
Rent, salaries, etc. . . . .	6,000.00
6 per cent. dividend on \$150,000 bank	
stock . . . . .	<u>9,000.00</u>
	<u>15,750.00</u>

No. 2. Six per cent. Dividend Paying Country Bank, under the French, German or Suffolk-System:

Capital . . . . .	\$150,000.00
Deposits . . . . .	57,143.00
Circulation . . . . .	150,000.00

Total . . . . .	<u>\$357,143.00</u>
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## DEDUCTIONS

5 per cent. redemption fund, \$120,000 cur-	
rency in actual circulation . . . . .	\$ 6,000.00
15 per cent. reserve on deposits . . . . .	8,571.45
20 per cent. currency out of circulation . . . . .	30,000.00
	<u>\$44,571.45</u>

Possible loanable funds . . . . .	<u><u>\$312,571.55</u></u>
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## RECEIPTS

Discount rates on \$312,571.55 loans, at 4.55 per cent.	\$14,240.00
Exchange account . . . . .	1,000.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$15,240.00</u>

## EXPENDITURES

Safety fund tax on \$120,000 in actual circulation, 0.2 per cent. . . . .	\$ 240.00
Rents, salaries, etc. . . . .	6,000.00
6 per cent. dividends on \$150,000 capital. . . . .	9,000.00
	<u>15,240.00</u>

No. 3. Six per cent. Dividend Paying Central Reserve City Bank, under the Law of March 14, 1900:

Capital . . . . .	\$150,000.00
Deposits . . . . .	650,000.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$800,000.00</u>

## DEDUCTIONS

Paid for U. S. 2 per cent. bonds required \$ 3,600.00	
Reserve required . . . . .	162,500.00
	<u>\$166,100.00</u>
Possible loanable funds . . . . .	<u>\$633,900.00</u>

## RECEIPTS

2 per cent. on \$3,600 U. S. bonds . . . . .	\$ 72.00
Exchange account . . . . .	2,000.00
Discount rates on \$633,900.00 loanable funds, 2.99 per cent. . . . .	18,928.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$21,000.00</u>

## EXPENSES

Rent, salaries, etc. . . . .	\$ 12,000.00
6 per cent. dividend on \$150,000 bank capital . . . . .	9,000.00
	<u>\$21,000.00</u>

No. 4. Six per cent. Dividend Paying Central Reserve City Bank, under the French, German or Suffolk-System:

Capital . . . . .	\$150,000.00
Deposits . . . . .	650,000.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$800,000.00</u>

## DEDUCTIONS

Reserve required 25 per cent. of deposit . . . . .	\$162,500.00
Possible loanable funds . . . . .	<u>\$637,500.00</u>



## RECEIPTS

Discount rates on \$637,500 loans, at <b>2.98</b> per cent .	\$19,000.00
Exchange account . . . . .	2,000.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$21,000.00</u>

## EXPENDITURES

Rents, salaries, etc. . . . .	\$12,000.00
6 per cent. dividends on \$150,000 capital. . . . .	9,000.00
	<u>21,000.00</u>

No. 5. Ten per cent. Dividend Paying Country Bank in a ten per cent. locality, under the Law in 1898:

Capital . . . . .	\$150,000.00
Deposits . . . . .	57,143.00
Circulation, 90 per cent. of \$37,500 bonds . . . . .	33,750.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$240,893.00</u>

## DEDUCTIONS

Paid for \$37,500 bonds, at \$113.55 . . . . .	\$42,581.25
5 per cent. redemption fund, on \$33,750 . . . . .	1,687.50
15 per cent. reserve on \$57,143 deposits . . . . .	8,571.45
20 per cent. currency not in circulation . . . . .	6,750.00
	<u>\$ 59,590.20</u>
Possible loanable funds . . . . .	<u>\$181,302.80</u>

## RECEIPTS

Interest on \$42,581.45 paid for bonds at 2.4 per cent. \$	1,021.95
Interest on \$181,302.80 loans, at <b>10.65</b> per cent. . .	19,315.55
Exchange account . . . . .	1,000.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$ 21,337.50</u>

## EXPENDITURES

Tax on circulation, 1 per cent. . . . .	\$ 337.50
Rents, salaries, etc. . . . .	6,000.00
10 per cent. dividend on \$150,000 stock . . . . .	15,000.00
	<u>\$ 21,337.50</u>

No. 6. Ten per cent. Dividend Paying Country Bank, under the Law of March 13, 1900:

Capital . . . . .	\$150,000.00
Deposits . . . . .	57,143.00
Currency . . . . .	150,000.00
Total . . . . .	<u>\$357,143.00</u>

## DEDUCTIONS

Paid for 2 per cent. bonds . . . . .	\$150,000.00
5 per cent. redemption fund . . . . .	7,500.00
15 per cent. reserve on deposits . . . . .	8,571.45
20 per cent. of currency averaging to be out of circulation . . . . .	30,000.00
	\$196,071.45
Possible loanable funds . . . . .	\$161,071.55

## RECEIPTS

2 per cent. interest on \$150,000 U. S. bonds . . . .	\$ 3,000.00
Exchange account . . . . .	1,000.00
Discount rates on \$161,071.55 loanable funds, <b>11.02</b> per cent. . . . .	17,750.00
Total . . . . .	\$ 21,750.00

## EXPENSES

$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. tax on \$150,000 currency. . . . .	\$ 750.00
Rent, salaries, etc. . . . .	6,000.00
10 per cent. dividend on stock . . . . .	15,000.00
	\$ 21,750.00

No. 7. Ten per cent. Dividend Paying Country Bank, under the French, German or Suffolk-System:

Capital . . . . .	\$150,000.00
Deposits . . . . .	57,143.00
Circulation . . . . .	150,000.00
Total . . . . .	\$357,143.00

## DEDUCTIONS

5 per cent. redemption fund, \$120,000 cur- rency in actual circulation . . . . .	\$ 6,000.00
15 per cent. reserve on deposits . . . . .	8,571.45
20 per cent. currency out of circulation . . . . .	30,000.00
	\$ 44,571.45
Possible loanable funds . . . . .	\$312,571.55

## RECEIPTS

Discount rates on \$312,571.55 loans, at <b>5.84</b> per cent. .	\$ 18,240.00
Exchange account . . . . .	1,000.00
Total . . . . .	\$ 19,240.00

## EXPENDITURES

Safety fund tax on \$120,000 in actual cir- culation, 0.2 per cent. . . . .	\$ 240.00
Rents, salaries, etc. . . . .	6,000.00
10 per cent. dividends on \$150,000 capital . . . . .	15,000.00
	19,240.00

## THE BOERS IN HISTORY

RICHARD M'CANN

Young as is the Transvaal republic there has been more written concerning it than of many peoples of more importance. The shelves of the book-shops and libraries groan with volumes, hastily put together, treating of the land beyond the Vaal, and unhappily the major part of these books are but compilations of misinformation. The misunderstanding of the merits of the question is due largely to the political speeches of Mr. Gladstone in the Midlothian campaign twenty years ago. Then Gladstone was seeking power, and did not hesitate to weave a sentimental web of romance about the Boers which has since obscured the real character of Kruger and his followers in the imagination of the public.

To-day popular orators are reiterating expressions which Gladstone himself recanted immediately upon becoming premier of Great Britain. First impressions, however, are always most lasting with the public, who have not the time to follow discussion, and hence truth has a long chase to overtake error. When American citizens of such standing as Mr. Bourke Cockran compare the Boers to the American colonists of 1776, and the press of the United States in the main advocates the cause of the Transvaal, it seems fitting to recall the history of the Transvaal republic for the benefit of those who have had neither the time nor the means to study the subject for themselves. That England has been the friend of the Boers, and that to the British government is due the establishment of the Transvaal republic, can be demonstrated by reference to historians,



such as John Nixon ("Story of the Transvaal," London 1885); W. E. Garrett Fisher ("The Transvaal and the Boers," London 1900); J. P. Fitzpatrick ("The Transvaal from Within") and others.

The Dutch first settled South Africa in 1652, when 100 immigrants under Van Riebeck landed there. The present Boers are descended from employees of the East India Company subsequently sent to the Cape. One-third of these employees were Huguenots, hence such names as Joubert, De Toit, Theron, Naudé and De Villiers. In 1795 the Cape was annexed by England but reverted to the Dutch in 1802. In 1806 it was retaken by England, and in 1814 the king of the Netherlands formally ceded the colony to Great Britain.

In 1833 slavery was abolished by law. Prior to this legal enactment, the country lying between Kess-kamma and Kei was given back to the Kaffirs by order of Lord Glenelg, secretary of state for the colonies. This was in 1830. The Boers opposed the restoration of the lands to the natives, and when slavery was abolished they determined to get beyond the reach of the officers of the law and go where they could hold the natives as slaves. Accordingly, in 1835 the Boers went to the Transvaal and set up an independent government. They conquered Natal, and such was their cruelty that appeal was made to England and Natal annexed on May 12, 1843, "for the peace of all classes of men."

The Boers then attacked the British, expelling the British residents of Bloemfontein. Sir Harry Smith defeated the Boers and re-annexed the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers in 1848, but on January 17, 1852, England voluntarily renounced all rights over the country in South Africa lying north of the Vaal river. There were then four republics in the country: one at Lydenberg, another in the Zoutspansberg dis-

trict, a third in the Utrecht district, and the fourth at Potchefstroom. All were united in 1860.

When freed from British domination the Boers demonstrated their inability to live at peace with each other or to maintain a self-supporting government. Their first act upon obtaining independence was to get rid of the missionaries, and they promptly expelled the Rev. Dr. Inglis and the Rev. Dr. Edwards, who opposed the capture of native children by Commander Schultz. The entrance of Dr. Livingstone, the explorer, into the country was opposed by the Boers, and it is by no means certain that his death cannot be attributed to their machinations.

Paul Kruger, or Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, as he was christened, became prominent in the public life of the Transvaal forty years ago. In 1860, Pretorius, then president of the Transvaal, had himself elected president of the Free State, for which he was promptly suspended from office in the Transvaal. Schoenman, who was appointed acting president, refused to acknowledge the authority of the Volksraad. An armed force was organized by Paul Kruger and Schoenman fled to Potchefstroom. A state of civil war existed until 1864 when Pretorius returned from the Free State and was reelected president, an office which he held until 1871, when he was compelled to resign and Burgess was declared president of the Transvaal.

Burgess was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, and, although he had the interest of the republic at heart and had expended his entire private fortune in its interest, he was opposed from the start by a minority led by Kruger. These internal dissensions not only caused the bankruptcy of the republic but incited the native tribes to revolt against the tyranny of the Boers, who had been encroaching on their territory and seizing their women and children as slaves.

In their distress the Boers appealed in vain to Holland for aid. The Zulus and the Sekkukuni were about to descend upon them, the Boers sought the protection of the British government, and under the advice of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, a native South African, and colonial secretary to Great Britain, the republic became a part of the British empire. Sir Garnett Wolsely put down the Cetawayo and Sekkukuni rebellion and the Boers were saved from annihilation.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone was succeeded by Colonel Lanyon, and when the natives were thoroughly subdued the main force of British soldiers was recalled. Immediately upon the departure of the troops and when there was no longer danger from the natives, Kruger called a meeting of the Boers to reconsider the act of annexation. In April, 1878, another meeting was held and Kruger and Joubert were appointed a committee to ask for the retrocession of the country. In this the Boers were encouraged by the speeches of the late William E. Gladstone during the Midlothian campaign. Gladstone became premier and Kruger and Joubert went to England to demand retrocession. Gladstone as premier, however, proved a different man from Gladstone the candidate for office. He retracted all he said during the Midlothian campaign and demonstrated to Kruger that the republic was better under the dominion of Great Britain. Dr. Jorrison, who accompanied Kruger, accepted office as attorney-general of the republic and actually received pay as such while in England, while Kruger said "he would become as faithful a subject under the new form of government as he had been under the old." He expressed a desire "to serve her majesty in any capacity for which he might be judged eligible." Kruger drew salary as a member of the old executive and had \$500 a year added to it. Upon his return to the Transvaal he declared that Eng-



land was their friend, and added: "When people talk of treachery and deceit, these are to be sought for among us." (Nixon, p. 101.)

Kruger next appears as a supplicant for increased pay. This being refused he again became a patriot anxious for the freedom of his country. Mass-meetings were again called, and on December 10, 1879, at one of those meetings resolutions were adopted "repudiating the sovereignty of the Queen, pledging the people not to buy from or sell to any of the loyalists any articles or goods, to destroy all English books, not to allow English to be spoken, and to refuse hospitality or assistance to Englishmen."

Such are some of the circumstances that led up to Majuba Hill, after which Gladstone remembered his Midlothian speeches and permitted the proclamation of the South African Republic.

The record since then has been one of manifest unfairness. The franchise, which had been granted to any one holding property or residing in the state one year, was changed so as practically to disfranchise all newcomers who had invested their savings for years in the country.

A monopoly was created in dynamite, of which Kruger and his friends derived all the profits. Under this system of extortion British investors were compelled to contribute practically the entire revenue of the republic, which in 1899 amounted to \$4,087,852.

The Transvaal belongs to England by every right recognized by civilization, and there is no sense in which the Boers can properly be compared with the American colonists in 1776. There is no likeness between democracy and oligarchy.

## ARE WE A GOTHIC OR MIXED RACE? II.\*

MOULTON EMERY

Irish protestantism did not spring from the soil. It was an exotic. It was carried there from England and Scotland. James the First depopulated Ulster of Celtic Irish, and replaced them with English and Scotch Presbyterians. After the massacre in 1641, Cromwell drove out whole counties of Irish in Leinster and Munster and gave their lands to English puritans. On the accession of Charles the Second the papists of Ireland were estimated to number 800,000, and the protestants 300,000. The latter comprised Presbyterians, independents, Episcopalians and Quakers. At that time in Ireland race and religion ran hand in hand. While the papal Irishman was invariably a pure Celt, or a mixture of Celt and Goth, the protestant Irishman was a Goth, an Englishman or a Scotchman. It is in Ireland that the key to the solution of the problem of racial elements in the United States is to be found.

On the death of Cromwell the Gothic element was virtually master of the soil of Ireland; but a change soon took place. In 1665 a second act of uniformity was passed by parliament. It contained a clause against dissenters. A bitter and unrelenting persecution was immediately directed against them. The catholic partisans of Charles the Second demanded that he should restore to them the lands which they had forfeited by their cruel massacres. The English colonists sent out

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\* This is the second in a series of four articles analyzing the racial origins and composition of the people of the United States. Among the authorities to which the author refers in support of his data are Froude, Green, Macaulay, Buckle, Bancroft, Palfrey, Hewitt, Ramsay, Baird, and the United States Census Reports of 1890.

by Cromwell were dispossessed of the lands which they had improved and looked upon as an inheritance for their children. "The more serious of the Cromwellians sold their holdings and left a country which could no longer be a home for them, and then commenced that fatal emigration of non-conformist protestants from Ireland to New England—[not New England, but the other colonies]—which enduring for more than a century drained Ireland of its soundest protestant blood and assisted in raising beyond the Atlantic the power and the spirit which by and by paid England home for the madness which had driven them thither." (Froude's "English in Ireland.")

The earl of Clarendon wrote to the king August 14th, 1668: "Your majesty is said to believe that the gross of the English of this kingdom are fanatics of Cromwell's blood, the offspring of those who served in the rebellion against your sacred father, which I presume to say is a very great mistake. There are very few of the original soldiers and adventurers now left, or of their descendants. Of the latter not twenty families and no great number of the former." (Froude's "English in Ireland.")

In 1686 James the Second undertook to force Romanism on Irish protestants. He disarmed them and caused the acts of settlement to be repealed. The old proprietors were restored to their inheritance and recovered all that they had lost by the rebellion of 1641. They had recovered everything except the lands they had forfeited in Desmond's rebellion during the reign of Elizabeth, and the six counties in Ulster from which they had been dispossessed by James the First for participation in O'Neill's and Tyrconnel's rebellion.

Every blow at protestantism, whether from King James the Second or from the bigoted bishops of the Church of England, served but to increase and quicken



the stream of Gothic emigration. On the accession of Queen Anne parliament passed a bill for the repression of popery in Ireland. Ostensibly aimed at the Romanists it was in reality used only against the dissenters by the Anglican bishops with their usual malignant zeal, for the bill contained a clause against dissenters. Presbyterian magistrates were deposed, non-conformist aldermen were ejected from their offices, and at Belfast the entire corporation was changed. A non-conformist could hold no office above that of constable, nor could he even engage in teaching. Dissenting ministers were denounced as imposters, men who profaned God's holy sacraments. Catholic priests in the eyes of the Anglican bishops were in the line of apostolic succession and could lawfully administer the sacraments. The Anglican bishops announced that children of parents married by dissenting ministers should be considered illegitimate. Many were subjected to prosecution as fornicators for cohabiting with their own wives.

“And now recommenced the protestant emigration which robbed Ireland of the bravest defenders of English interests and peopled the American seaboard with fresh flights of puritans. Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woolen trade. Many were driven away by the first passing of the test act. The stream had slackened in the hope that the law would be altered. When the prospect was finally closed, men of spirit and energy refused to remain in a country where they were held unfit to receive the rights of citizens, and henceforward until the spell of tyranny was broken in 1782, annual shiploads of families poured themselves out from Belfast and Londonderry. The resentment which they carried with them continued to burn in their new homes and in the war of independence England had no fiercer enemies than the grandsons and great grandsons of the

Presbyterians who had held Ulster against Tyrconnel." (Froude's "English in Ireland.")

Boulter, the primate of Ireland, wrote to the duke of Newcastle in November, 1728, that: "The whole North is in a ferment at present, the people every day engaging one another to go the next year to the British continental colonies in America. The humor has spread like a contagious distemper and the people will hardly bear anybody that tries to cure them of their madness. The worst is that it affects only protestants and reigns chiefly in the North." During the first half of the eighteenth century, Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh and Derry were emptied of protestant inhabitants while the scattered colonies of the South disappeared as protestant communities either fleeing across the Atlantic or becoming absorbed into the church of Rome.

In 1772 the marquis of Donegal demanded a hundred thousand pounds in fines for the renewal of his Antrim leases. "In the two years which followed the Antrim evictions thirty thousand protestants left Ulster for a land where there was no legal robbery and where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest. The South and West were caught by the same movement and ships could not be found to carry the crowds who were eager to go. Protestant settlements which had languished through the century now almost disappeared. Bandon, Kullamore, Kilbeggan and many other places, once almost exclusively English and Scotch, were abandoned to the priests and Celts." (Report of the Committee of the House of Commons as to Emigration, 1774.)

Irish protestants sympathized strongly with the American colonies in their struggle for independence. Indeed, they carried their sympathy so far as actually to threaten a rebellion under the lead of Grattan in 1782. The catholic gentry and priesthood on the con-

trary offered money to the English government, and when it was declined begged a chance of showing their loyalty to their sovereign by taking up arms in his cause against the American rebels. "Sir, we flatter ourselves that the occasion, the motive and your goodness will engage you to excuse this trouble. As we are informed that an intended subscription among us, his majesty's affectionate, loyal and dutiful Roman Catholic subjects of his kingdom of Ireland, to raise a fund among ourselves for encouraging recruits to enlist for his majesty's service, was not judged necessary by government, yet being desirous to give every assistance in our power, and to give every proof of our sincere, affectionate and grateful attachment to the most sacred person and government of the best of kings, and justly abhorring the unnatural rebellion which has lately broken out among some of his American subjects against his majesty's most sacred person and government, impressed with a deep sense of our duty and allegiance, and feeling ourselves loudly called on by every motive and by every tie that can affect the heart of good and loyal subjects, we take the liberty to make on this interesting occasion a humble tender of our duty, zeal and affection to our good and gracious king, and we humbly presume to lay at his feet two millions of loyal, faithful and affectionate hearts and hands, unarmed indeed, but zealous, ready and desirous to exert themselves strenuously in defence of his majesty's most sacred person and government, against all his enemies, of what denomination soever, in any part of the world where they may be, and to exert in an active manner a loyalty and an obedience which hitherto, though always unanimous and unalterable from our particular circumstances and situations, have been restrained within passive and inactive bounds—a loyalty which we may justly say is and always was as the dial to the sun, true



though not shone upon. And we take the liberty to request, sir, that you will be so good as to represent to his excellency, our lord lieutenant, these our dispositions and sentiments, which we well know to be those also of all our fellow Roman Catholic Irish subjects, with an humble request to his excellency that if he think proper he may be so good as to lay them before his majesty."

Surely, this hostile attitude of the Celtic priesthood against the American colonies ought to be enough in itself to set at rest any doubts as to the character of the emigration from Ireland to this country down to a period long after the revolution. That emigration must have been so overwhelmingly Gothic as to nullify the slightest claim that Celtic Ireland contributed to the foundation of the American nation. It was only till near the close of the eighteenth century that the first Catholic church was organized in Boston, which was followed by one in Charleston, S. C., to minister to the spiritual wants of the French refugees from San Domingo.

Between 1620 and 1640 twenty-one thousand English pilgrims and English puritans came over and settled in New England. After 1640 but few came till after the revolution. The puritans of England had all they could do in fighting royalty at home. During all that period New England received but three small bodies of other colonists. A band of one hundred and fifty French Huguenots settled there, and one of two hundred and seventy-five Scotch Highland prisoners were sent to Boston by Cromwell after his victory at Dunbar. In 1709 one hundred and twenty families of Scotch-Irish came over and settled at Londonderry and elsewhere in New Hampshire. It is a historical fact that New England down to near the close of the last century, with the exception of these three bands of

immigrants, was wholly English and, with the exception of the first two, exclusively Gothic.

New York was settled by the Dutch, and though New Amsterdam was something of a cosmopolitan town yet the population of the state at large received but slight accessions of Celtic blood before 1790. While the English element itself was large, the Dutch and English together constituted an overwhelming preponderance. The Huguenots and other Celtic immigrants were too few in number to have any appreciable effect on the character of the population.

Eastern New Jersey was settled by puritans from New England and by Scotch covenanters, the victims of James the Second. Western New Jersey was exclusively English. It was the stronghold of English Quakerism.

Pennsylvania, one of the last of the colonies to be settled, took a commanding position from the first. Immigrants by the thousands followed Penn from England, Ireland and Scotland. About 1720 a small band of Germans from Wurtemberg were driven by the oppressions of Duke Eberhard Ludwig to seek a home within her wilds. Her laws were the most liberal of any colony, and the weary victims of Episcopal bigotry were only too happy to find a refuge at last where they might worship God in peace. Like Pennsylvania the population of Delaware was almost wholly Gothic in blood.

The original settlers of Maryland, though under the government of a catholic proprietor and led by Jesuit priests, were English and largely puritans. The latter always constituted a great majority of the colonists, being constantly recruited from the puritans of Virginia. While Maryland served as a refuge for persecuted catholics, it was nearly always the case that they came from England. Baltimore received but

a slight admixture of Celtic blood. A considerable number of Germans settled in the western part of the colony.

Virginia was always an English colony. Her population toward the close of the seventeenth century received some slight accessions from the Scotch-Irish and the Huguenots, and also from the Germans of Pennsylvania. But these were not enough to affect its general character, certainly not more than, as Prof. Fiske says, to the extent of two per cent. Virginia was almost as purely English as New England.

North Carolina was peopled principally by emigrants from Virginia. Many English Quakers and puritans found a home there. A few Scotch Highlanders, after the defeat of the Pretender, settled in the upper part of the state. Germans and Moravians, Huguenots and Swiss, contributed to swell the population. The people, however, were almost as thoroughly English as were the people of Virginia. For a long time this colony was without law or government of any kind. Possibly it may be true, as some historians assert, that the early settlers were runaways from law and order in Virginia, the children kidnapped in the streets of London and Bristol and sold to the planters; there yet remains to those sturdy squatter sovereigns the unique distinction of being the only people ever known to come out on top in a struggle with the legal fraternity, having given them the choice to get out or to dangle from the nearest tree.

The early colonists of South Carolina were English, as their names indicate. Crowds of puritans from England and puritans and Presbyterians from Ireland, together with the English partisans of the Stuarts, settled there. From the first there was a steady inpour of them. The evicted Cromwellians of Leinster and Munster and the persecuted protestants of Ulster were



only too happy at last to reach a country where they might own their lands and worship God in peace. Both Hewitt and Ramsay, the historians, say that of all the countries none furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. It was seldom that a ship sailed from one of its ports for Charleston without being crowded with men, women and children. The bounties offered to new settlers greatly stimulated immigration, being equivalent to the expense of the passage. Two shiploads of Dutch from New Netherlands formed a settlement on the southwest side of the Ashley. A party of adventurers from New England, wrecked on the North Carolina coast, were rescued by Governor Archdale, who sent a vessel for them and allotted them land on the north of Cooper River. A band of puritans from Dorchester, Mass., founded a town of that name at the headwaters of the Ashley. Germans from the Palatinate settled Orangeburg, Congaree and Wateree. But the tide of immigration from England and Ireland flowing to her borders was not always direct. It surged through Pennsylvania and Virginia. Thousands of English Goths from those two provinces helped to swell the tide of humanity that sought the mild climate and the bright sunshine of South Carolina. In one year, just before the revolution, over a thousand families with their stocks of horses, cattle and hogs went there and settled on the extreme frontier. They came in such numbers that the up-country became more thickly populated than the low-country. During the twenty years just previous to the revolution the inhabitants of the province nearly trebled in number.

Notwithstanding the Church of England was established by law, the dissenters, the puritans, were in a large majority. All dissenters were puritans though not necessarily extremists, for they believed in a pure form of worship. The Huguenot immigration to South

Carolina was greater than to any other province. They located on the lowlands along the Santee and the Cooper rivers, which had for them a peculiar fascination, for many of them had come from the lowlands of the coast of France. Like all Celts, and wholly unlike the English, they knew perfectly well how to deal with the Indians, and not the least of their accomplishments in this respect was their influence over them through the violin and the mazy dance. John Peter Pury brought over a colony of Swiss and founded the tower of Purysburg on the Savannah river, of which only a few chimneys in a dense thicket now remain to mark the spot. After the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 a number of Scotch Highland prisoners were sent to this colony. The Celtic element of the population, however, formed but a small fraction. It could not have been more than ten per cent. Those who passed for Irishmen were in reality puritan English and Scotch Lowlanders, the followers of Cromwell and John Knox,—Goths to a man. South Carolina was mainly English and fully ninety per cent. Gothic in blood,

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE REPUBLICAN platform, just adopted at Philadelphia, contains the first direct recognition of labor's claim to special and specific consideration in public policy that has ever appeared in a national platform of either of the two great political parties. The plank is as follows:

"In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract, convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance."

Of course it is true that most of the industrial legislation for labor is outside the power of national legislation and must be enacted by the separate states, but this plank is an official declaration committing the republican party to the principle of labor legislation. It should be taken as the party doctrine on that subject in every state. Republicans who are candidates for legislative or executive offices in the future may properly be held to the acceptance of this doctrine, and refusal to cooperate for rational legislation in these directions is, hereafter, desertion of the principle and policy of the republican party. It is especially encouraging to note that this brief declaration endorses the principle of labor insurance.

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IT MAY NOT be quite true to say: "If you see it in the *Boston Herald* it isn't so," but it is pretty safe to say: "It needs verifying." In a recent editorial, exposing the extravagance of republican administrations, the *Herald* compared three years of the Harrison administration, four years of Cleveland's, and three years



of McKinley's. By this showing it makes the expenditure under Harrison average \$361,291,323 per year and the average under Cleveland only \$360,418,546. Just why only three years of the Harrison term should be taken is not clear, except it be to toy with the figures so as to make the Cleveland average seem the smaller. In 1890, the omitted year of the Harrison administration, the expenditure was only \$318,040,711, or \$34,000,000 less than Mr. Cleveland's smallest year. Had the *Herald* frankly taken the four years of the Harrison term it would have found an average annual expenditure of \$350,478,670, or \$9,939,876 per year less the Cleveland average. The *Herald* then comes to the McKinley administration and points out that the average expenditure for the three years has been \$512,963,798, or "\$152,545,252 higher than the Cleveland average;" as if there had been no war and this increased expenditure was all due to the pure extravagance of the administration. Isn't it about time Boston started a "reform movement" in the interest of higher editorial ethics?

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AT LAST China has forced the climax. Like the Boers, she has declared open war upon civilization. Nations like individuals must have regard for the rules of conduct in the society in which they move. China, in becoming a member of the family of diplomatic nations, assumed the responsibility of protecting the persons and property of citizens of other nations living in her empire, and more especially she assumed the responsibility of sacredly protecting the official representatives of foreign nations. She has failed in both of these important duties; has not merely failed to protect citizens of foreign nations who are Christians, but has rather encouraged their molestation and massacre. She has further utterly failed to protect the official rep-

representatives of foreign governments; the properties of foreign legations have been looted and the personal safety of the representatives dangerously threatened; and, as if all this was not enough, she has opened fire from her forts upon the allied fleets of the European powers, which was answering for her criminal neglect of duty by open war. Under these circumstances but one thing remains, in the interest of honor, honesty, civilization and safety, namely: that the nations so betrayed take matters in their own hands. China has invited the representatives of civilized government and the forces of civilized industry to her kingdom and betrayed them. No government guilty of that can or ought long to continue. China has only reached, by one of the numerous ways, the end that must come to any and all nations which refuse to progress with the advancing civilization of the world.

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THE NOMINATION of Governor Roosevelt for vice-president is a revolution in the method of political conventions. The traditional habit of nominating a third-rate or *passé* politician for vice-president, as a mere appendage to the presidential ticket, was entirely disregarded. The enthusiastic and irrepressible demand for Roosevelt for vice-president entirely overshadowed the interest in the president. It was not a demand of his own state for promotion, merely, it was a spontaneous uprising throughout the entire country, quite as intense in the far West as in his own state. The demand was altogether beyond the control of the managers, for or against it, and he had no control over it himself. It will be remembered that this is a repetition of the character of his nomination for governor. The politicians did not want it, the organization tried to steer clear of him, but the public sentiment just carried him over their heads and swept them all off their feet.

Mr. Roosevelt is not a shelvable quantity; he is an energetic, intelligent, scholarly, patriotic, public-spirited man. He is clean, honest and efficient, he makes an impression wherever he goes, and he always heads for and aids progress. He can neither be bullied or bought but can always be advised. Such a man in the vice-presidency ought to and probably will shake the dry dust out of that office and breathe into it the breath of life, raise it to the dignity it possessed in the days of Adams and Jefferson. If Mr. Roosevelt carries to the vice-presidency that same virile efficiency which has characterized his entire public career, in 1904 we may once more see what occurred in 1796 and 1800,—the vice-president promoted by popular demand to the presidency.

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THE INJUNCTION recently issued by Judge Freedman of the supreme court of New York, against the striking cigarmakers in New York city, carried the doctrine of injunction to the danger point. In addition to forbidding a multitude of other things it enjoined the laborers "from paying or offering or promising to pay to any former employee of the plaintiff any sum of money for the purpose of inducing such person or persons to refuse to enter plaintiffs' employment, and from paying or promising to pay to any former employee of the plaintiffs any sum of money for the purpose of continuing organized, concerted and combined action on the part of said former employees of plaintiffs, with the object and purpose of interfering with and preventing the plaintiffs from carrying on their business."

If this language has any meaning, it is that the friends of the union are forbidden to use any financial or moral means whatever to induce laborers not to take the place of strikers, or even to contribute to the strike



fund. This is obviously a case where the court was used to outrage the common rights of laborers, entirely without basis in either law, custom or equity. Should such an injunction be sustained there would be nothing left of the rights of organized labor.

Capitalists may combine and contribute to a common fund for defence against strikes or in support of lockouts; they may offer extravagant prices for laborers to take strikers' places, or even send out special agents personally to secure laborers, often by misrepresentation, all of which laborers are forbidden to do under peril of injunction, subjecting them to fine and imprisonment for contempt. This sort of thing will create socialists a hundredfold faster than socialist literature and orators could ever do.

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THE ST. LOUIS street railway strike is another terrible chapter in the history of industrial warfare. Labor has just as good a right to organize as capital, but it has no better. It is a misfortune whenever the managers of corporations are so dull as to refuse to treat with laborers in their organized capacity. In insisting upon the right of recognition for their unions, workmen everywhere in this country can now rely upon the endorsement of public opinion. They can make a peaceful demand for a shorter working day, advancement of wages, and other changes in their working conditions, but when they insist upon dictating what the corporation shall do in its own interests they are committing the same blind folly that the corporations do in refusing to negotiate with the unions. To demand that the corporation shall compel all its employees to join the labor union is to demand that the corporation shall do what really belongs to the laborers themselves; and to ask that the corporation shall discharge or suspend a member of the union whenever he shall be suspended by the union for whatever cause is still further unreasonable.

The corporation has no interest in punishing violation of the union's rules, except as it may affect its own interests.

Whenever the union makes demands of an unreasonable and overbearing nature it always reacts upon labor, and laborers must learn that to be organized does not permit them to tyrannize over everybody. But, reasonable or unreasonable as their demands may be, there is but one extreme which they ought to be permitted to try in enforcing them—that is, to quit work in a body, organize a strike, and maintain it as long as they can without violating the persons and property of peaceful citizens. No grievance whatever, short of physical force, can justify the use of physical force. The rioting, destruction of property, assaults upon passengers, even including women, for riding on the cars, as described by Miss Halsted in another part of this issue, are outrages against freedom and civilization and ought not to be tolerated anywhere or by anybody. This kind of conduct brings more disgrace upon organized labor than a quarter of a century's peaceful accomplishment can obliterate.

## RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE TO EDUCATION

A. C. MILLAR, A. M., PRESIDENT OF HENDRIX COLLEGE

If man were a being whose temporal and eternal interests were distinct, it might be easy to define accurately the respective spheres of church and state. But life is a unit with overlapping periods and interblending aspects.

In the field of education church and state are alike deeply concerned, albeit they may approach the question from opposite viewpoints and accordingly may lay stress upon different elements as essential. The state must have trained intellect, but may neglect the strictly spiritual life. The church must cultivate the religious nature, but may ignore mental development as such. True, neither course is safe, but each is possible, and history furnishes examples of both.

In this country, with a multiplicity of churches alike protected but not directly fostered by the state, neither church nor state can honorably withdraw from educational work; but it does not necessarily follow that each must attempt to cultivate the whole field. If both had unlimited resources and no phase of education were neglected, there could be no serious objection to parallel efforts; but when the masses receive meager training and few enjoy higher advantages it is criminal folly for church and state feebly to till the same ground. The correlation of forces and the conservation of energy should prevail.

Is it feasible to apply these scientific principles when the relation of church and state schools is involved? At the risk of appearing too doctrinaire, cer-



tain propositions are postulated for the settlement of this mooted question.

I. The church is chiefly concerned with the problem of being, the state with the problem of doing. The one desires the man *to be right*, the other desires him *to do right*. The church deals with the ideal life, the state with the actual. These phases of life are reciprocal and mutually reflex. This principle indicates the kinds of education which church and state respectively may properly attempt. No absolute line of demarcation can be drawn, but it may be fairly indicated.

II. Home influences should be potent in the making of the man. The church is home written large; hence, as the child's distance from the home increases, the force of the larger home should be more directly delivered in order that the spiritual influence may not diminish.

III. The relation of the people to different kinds of education is such that the taxing power of the state may with less objection be invoked for certain phases than for others. This principle in some measure rests on expediency, and so far forth is secondary.

Without fuller argument the general and substantial accuracy of these propositions is assumed in the discussion of their application.

The home may not be ideal, yet, unless it is actually and flagrantly violating the rights of childhood, it must be respected. By parental care and instruction the earliest physical, intellectual and religious wants are necessarily supplied. When the product of the home is prized above the output of farm and factory, adequate preparation and heroic devotion to the duties of parenthood may be expected. Here church and state and school should be ideally combined, yet after the first eight years the best home does not supply all the elements for full and harmonious development. Different

points of social contact, a more formal discipline, and more accurate scholarship are needed. At this stage the state may properly provide for the strictly intellectual development, and the three principles postulated may be fairly applied.

The child is still in the home, where life is chiefly developed, while in the public school the state prepares him for the more varied use of all his activities. Without this training the man may be virtuous, but his sphere is circumscribed; hence the state enables him to do more. The home still dominates the religious life, and the church, through divers instrumentalities, begins to supplement the domestic influence and to accomplish for the spiritual life what the state is doing for the intellectual. The tax is paid by all and practically all are benefited; hence objections to taxation for elementary public education are few and feeble.

For harmonious cooperation in public school endeavor certain principles must guide the several parties involved; the church must studiously avoid exploiting the public school for or against any particular denomination, and must influence through the home and other legitimate agencies. Valuing community training the church will rarely attempt elementary education, except to provide for those whose home environment is radically and persistently defective.

The state must yield to no denominational demand for distinctively sectarian instruction or for employment of sectarian teachers as such, but, recognizing that the best moral life is religious and seldom flowers outside of some denomination, must respect all, not by ignoring all in selecting undenominational teachers, but by employing those representing the best religious life of the several denominations. Without making her schools sectarian, the state must protect the spiritual in every child by keeping all irreligion out of the

schoolroom. Taxing all, the state may justly require all to accept her training unless convinced that the child is elsewhere receiving adequate instruction. Not hindering voluntary enterprise, the state, to protect the child from parental or ecclesiastical narrowness, must require private schools to reach reasonable standards.

The home must not exact of the school religious instruction more sectarian in one direction than it is willing to grant in a different direction. Because the child is enjoying school and church privileges, the home must not lose the full sense of responsibility for religious instruction. Perhaps the greatest danger in American life to-day is the gradual shifting of responsibility for ethical training from the home to the church and the school. These should increase the child's advantages by supplementing the home influences, not by transferring or supplanting them.

Without discussing the distinct problem of secondary education, let it here suffice to postulate that at fourteen the child should be ready for new and more advanced subjects and for slightly different methods of teaching and discipline. These should be furnished in public high school or denominational academy.

In every city and in rural districts where numbers and means permit, provision should be made at public expense to carry education four years beyond the elementary period. Here home and state and church may as fully cooperate as in the lower school. However, there are and will be many communities where circumstances forbid the maintenance of strong, permanent secondary schools, yet the youth are entitled to the larger advantages. The state cannot under the principles enunciated satisfactorily supply the lack. The church feels that at this point her responsibility for the establishment of schools clearly begins, and this feeling should be respected and strengthened by the



state, because the latter cannot, like the church, furnish that strong ethical element which the youth's absence from home requires.

The denominational academy is a practical necessity. Missionary zeal and ecclesiastical self-interest will plant and support it, and reduce expenses even more than the state would attempt. The state should plainly indicate the inclusion of such schools in its educational plan, accord recognition and protection by charter, clearly defining duties, privileges, and limitations, and by inspection and supervision hold to reasonable standards. Free from fear of state competition, but required by law to meet high conditions, these schools, instead of being educational Ishmaelites and nondescripts, would have a recognized place and be real factors in both church and state systems.

Beyond the high school, for those who seek larger life, is the college, which takes the still immature but rapidly maturing youth, and trains for mental and moral culture. It seeks to form the man, not the artisan or the professional. Its work is almost exclusively with life development, and, as this must be given usually far from the home, the church rather than the state should be charged with the important duty. The justice of taxing all for the support of the college is not so obvious even as in the case of the high school. The church believes in the largest possible development of the man and stops not to count values in terms of the mart, hence it instinctively feels obligated to maintain the college. Held morally responsible for their work, limited to a legitimate sphere by definite charter, sufficiently supervised to guarantee respectable standards, and protected from the overwhelming competition of a state-supported institution, the denominational college would render the state rich service in sending out men of symmetrical character and high

purpose, loyal to both church and state, because indebted to both and prejudiced against neither.

Beyond the high school, because requiring at least the secondary scholarship, and in many respects beyond the college, because requiring collegiate maturity and preferably collegiate training, stands the genuine university, an institution for men who know their bent and seek profound scholarship or definite preparation for some special pursuit.

Our first proposition finds easy application; because the genuine university will receive only men ready for specialization. As the state needs trained men for farm and for factory, for office and for school, it may consistently sharpen into specialists the men already made. The second principle may not be so obviously applied, since the student is so far from the home. True, he is no longer connected with the home from which he is issued, but, having reached that maturity which qualifies him to be a home-maker, he is again near the home. The sense of approaching responsibility steadies him, while his personal relation to the church brings it strongly into his life. The third principle is recognized in the feeling that a trained workman of any kind renders valuable service to the public, and in the growing desire of all for direct preparation for practical life; hence taxation for the university seems reasonable. Then the cost of a constantly growing university can be easily met by state revenue. The aggregate is large but the per capita tax is small.

If for any reason it is considered expedient to organize a strictly collegiate department in the university, it, like the denominational colleges should stand on its merits and derive its support solely from those who demand it. In this way alone can the state avoid unseemly and ungenerous competition with the separate

colleges, which, being a necessity to the life of the people, a high sense of honor would lead the state to protect.

To prevent misunderstanding the following observations must be made: The terms "church" and "state" are used to represent respectively any distinct denominational or civil unit.

The history of education and existing conditions in the several churches and states is not to be ignored. Each has its own viewpoint and will solve its own problems in its own way. There may be unity of purpose without absolute identity in results.

Strictly private schools are not considered. They may be potent, but as related to church and state they are incidental.

The state university should not prevent the establishment of a denominational university at the head of each denominational system; but, as such a university would be located and managed with reference to the needs of its church, the state should not depend on it for the education of its specialists.

Each church should have a great university, correlated with its colleges, for training leaders in sympathy with its policy and polity.

A national university at Washington should be organized to be the complement and supplement of all.

In the evolution of institutions many of the present are only transient forms.



## CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

**Cheapening  
College Degrees**      "Reputation for learning made easy" is the direction in which several educational fads of recent prominence seem to tend. Absence of uniform requirements for degrees makes "A. B." of no special significance unless the name of the institution granting it is mentioned. Growing liberality in conferring the degree of "LL. D." gradually obscures any clear idea of its meaning or of the particular sort of honor it is intended to convey. Constant widening of the field of "elective" studies, however commendable for certain reasons, makes it more and more uncertain just how much general education a college course really does cover nowadays, because few people take the pains to keep up with curriculum changes.

As a new way of handing out imposing educational credentials for the minimum requirements, the University of Chicago is proposing to confer the title of "Associate" upon sophomores who fail to take the remaining two years of the college course. Commenting on this scheme, President A. C. Millar of Hendrix College, Arkansas, observes that by the authority of the university the sophomore can now "append to his name the abbreviation for his degree, and thus have by academic right what has long been his by courtesy."

A little rough on the sophomores, perhaps, but really, if we are to get down to granting trumped-up degrees and titles for practically nothing, most of them will come to convey pretty nearly the meaning President Millar suggests.

**Protection of  
Suburban Roads**

Suburban development has an active friend in Governor Roosevelt, judging from his very gratifying veto of a bill to allow trolley roads to be built upon macadamized highways in Queens County without the consent of a majority of the people in the villages affected. The veto, dated March 30th (and the first veto of the session, by the way) was accompanied by a message in which the governor said:

"The people of Queens and Nassau counties have bonded themselves to a very large extent to maintain a system of macadamized roads unequalled in this state. They are justly proud of this fact, and have endeavored through the legislature to place ample safeguards around them. The permission which this bill would give to allow steam railroads to go through over these roads might work very great injury to this macadamized road system. The intent of this bill was probably to allow the laying of a trolley line or lines through certain villages in Nassau county. It must be remembered, however, that the macadamized streets through which these railroads wish to pass were built by the towns, and town and county bonds were issued for that purpose. The entire people of the towns were therefore interested in their preservation. I do not approve of any measure which would take from the people the right to vote upon such a proposition."

Those who urge that trolley lines are all that is needed for suburban development forget that the business of the trolleys themselves depends on the attractiveness and advantages of the suburban sections they would bring within reach. Good roads and beautiful drives, free from defacement and annoyance, are among the most important features of suburban residence, and the governor is entitled to public thanks for preserving at least one of the people's safeguards against trolley encroachments. During the last few years many beautiful and expensive roads in the vicinity of New York have been appropriated by trolley companies, as often by foul means as by fair, practically converting them into private railway roadbeds. Such proceedings are outrageous, and have succeeded too often. The attempt,

which the governor frustrated, to deprive the people of the right to vote on the disposition of their own property, was the height of brazen impudence. If successful it would have been promptly extended to all the suburban sections around New York, this side of the Hudson.

Some streets and roads of small natural beauty, and used largely for business travel, may accommodate trolley lines without disadvantage, but where such roads are not available the companies should be compelled to buy their rights of way across country just as a steam railroad has to do. In no case should fine country drives and boulevards be surrendered to any such noisy, ugly and mutilating intruder as an overhead-wire electric railroad.

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**To-Day's Land-  
marks of To-  
Day's Progress**

Extraordinary gifts for educational purposes have become so commonplace within the last few years, especially since the return of prosperity, that we do not begin to realize the growing extent of this feature of our national life. Side by side with the much deplored "mad rush for wealth" we have an enlarging sense of the moral responsibility of wealth. For instance, the early political economy, which absolved employers from all human responsibility for the condition of employees and made it criminal conspiracy for laborers to organize, is gone. It is recognized instead that, while society grants the successful employer great rewards for any unusual service, it does not grant him the right to ignore the condition of those who, by the very nature of modern industry, must be under his direction. The fact is forcing its way more and more into general recognition that since the great wealth-making opportunities are furnished by the community as the market on which employers and capitalists depend, there is an



obligation to the community in return. Some of the evidences of this obligation the public has had to wring out of capital by laws to improve factory conditions and taxation for public improvements, and there is more yet to be done in the same line.

The next step in advance of that is some form of voluntary philanthropy; at first this is usually in the hope of applause and a monument,—and even yet these inducements are probably not absent as often as it would please us to imagine. Nevertheless, as time goes on, the force of selfish motives lessens. Gifts for public purposes are so frequent and so vast in amount that no ordinary donation attracts attention. Indeed, it has become almost a custom to withhold for a long time the names of many contributors, preserving the fact only in the records of the institution. Public-spirited liberality does not now call for special notice and praise; on the other hand, the rich man who does not share in the support of useful institutions and movements is singled out as an unworthy exception to the rule, and held up to public criticism if not scorn. A generation ago such a case of munificence as Cooper Union, for instance, was extraordinary; Peter Cooper sprang into national prominence, and to-day is cited as “the great philanthropist” by millions who have never seen the old-fashioned and in no wise wonderful building on the upper Bowery. Cooper was indeed a great philanthropist, but to-day items like the raising of nearly \$5,000,000 extra endowment for Chicago University, or the pledging of \$3,600,000 by Mr. Carnegie for enlarging the Pittsburg Library, or the \$5,000,000 gift of R. S. Bookings and S. S. Cupples to Washington University, St. Louis, fill only a few inches in the morning paper and attract only passing attention. It is estimated by Mr. Rossiter Johnson, editor of “*Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*,” that gifts for education during 1899, exclusive of church

contributions, and counting nothing under \$5,000, amounted to nearly \$63,000,000.

Such vast power-houses of civilization as are rising on the foundations of Chicago University, Leland Stanford, and the University of California, and being rapidly broadened and heightened at hundreds of educational centers throughout the East, are permanent gains to the world. They represent generous portions saved for all time out of the surplus of our abundant prosperity as we march along. They are the landmarks of expanding civilization; beacon lights which our present industrial and social system, with all its faults, is setting up one by one for the enlightenment of all mankind. In whatever way future generations may try to reorganize society, abolish profits, confiscate private fortunes, turn industry over to the state, and make the progress of higher education depend on political lobbying, what we are now storing up will stand to the everlasting credit of our present era. To-day we see and lament the seeming selfishness of our industrial system on the business side; to-morrow will see and appreciate its upgrowth of public spirit on the social and human side.

## LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

### The St. Louis Strike

[We are particularly glad of the opportunity to print the following graphic and very seriously impressive account of the St. Louis strike situation. It comes from a most competent and fair-minded eye-witness, of whose sympathetic interest in labor problems and labor progress we have long been thoroughly aware. We have commented in the EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE on the deplorable conditions Miss Halsted describes.]

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—To-day for the first time I opened your June Magazine, and seeing your comment on the strike here I want to give you my point of view.

You know that I am in hearty sympathy with the advance in the standard of living, with the uplift of labor, with the increase of the share of the workingman in the wealth of the world. When the street railway strike was threatened I was in sympathy with the men. It was common rumor that the company was not fair in its attitude towards the union, that the hours were too long (fourteen, I think) and overtime not properly computed. I was glad when they came to an agreement on March tenth. But this did not last long. Rumors flew again, and on May eighth the strike began with rioting on every line, I believe, within five hours of the declaration of the strike. We live within two blocks of the power houses of two lines and early that morning the jeers and shouts and hoots as the cars were stopped or turned back were loud in our ears. Well, we bore even that good-humoredly—that is, being deprived of car service and being threatened with mob rule,—as an



American populace will. But sympathy was repelled both by violence and by the excessive demands of the strikers. The company on the other hand gave fair words at any rate, and, while it was blamed for bringing on the strike, and for too great passivity in not trying to run cars, still sympathy turned from the party of violence and disorder to that of "innocuous desuetude" at least. This was true of a part of the citizens, but many, probably the majority by the scenes since enacted, still remained adherents of the strikers. For my part, as time went on and little or nothing was done, the two parties in the strike sank into insignificance compared to the authorities, who were not only incompetent but supine, and my indignation against them has grown deeper day by day. We have a republican mayor and a democratic governor and each of them is wholly unworthy of any position of trust. The legal situation of the city is complicated to a degree that will not let me unravel it, but the result is that it has almost no self-government. The mayor can do little and that little he has carefully abstained from doing. The governor has entire power and he has used none of it.

In this situation matters went from bad to worse. Policemen called for would not come. The posse was summoned by the sheriff, who seems to be a man of some sense, but the 2,500 asked for nearly two weeks ago have not yet been gained. In the meantime violence continued and increased, as of course everybody expected. All around us men have been knocked down with brass knuckles, have been beaten, kicked, shot, and in some instances by strikers. But the infamy that seems incredible in an American city was yet to come. In a number of instances women were assaulted, chased, their clothing torn from them, they were beaten and kicked and made nude, for the mere fact of having ridden on a car. I suppose you have seen the accounts.

Perhaps you have seen also our governor's telegram to the *World* yesterday, saying three girls between fourteen and sixteen had committed these outrages and he did not think it worth while to call out the militia to shoot them. This is such a dastard's act that it leaves me almost speechless. Half a dozen mobs assaulted more than that number of women in widely different parts of the city in one afternoon, and the blame is laid wholly on three girls, between fourteen and sixteen. Preposterous!

I should be sorry to think that any men (any man whatever, indeed) of the status of street car men would be capable of taking part in such unspeakable acts, but the fact that in their meetings since, although their president, Mahon, denounced the deeds, no resolutions were passed execrating such action, is to me significant and distressing. Especially is this so since other unions, notably the carpenters' and joiners' union, met especially for the purpose of condemning in the strongest language these crimes. Moreover, when on Sunday last several of the strikers were killed by the posse and many arrested, with revolvers, brass knuckles and air-guns on their persons, the strikers promptly called a mass meeting to deplore and condemn these actions, which, it seems to me, even were they wanton murders, would be far less horrible and less indicative of a degraded state of things than the denuding of women by mobs on the street. I do not think they were wanton murders at all. Violence had met with far too little repression, and when it came it fell heavily.

Of course violence is not necessarily a part of strikes at all. I have quoted forty times or more that most interesting article in your Magazine on the struggle in Denmark that involved so many, lasted six months, and had no case of violence to stain its record.\*

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\* "The Greatest Lockout in History," by Julius Moritzen, GUNTONS MAGAZINE for April, 1900.

There is a people to respect. It is bitterly mortifying, and makes one's heart bleed for one's country to see how our own people, that we have considered so law-abiding, so chivalrous toward women, so patient under provocation, can be such savages. Can you believe that such tales as these are stories of America in 1900? A frail, pale, lovely school teacher in her twenties was chased by a mob, pelted, and when rescued took to her bed and has now become insane. A lady, an acquaintance of mine, went to look up a reference of a servant in a very respectable quarter, as was usually considered (Lafayette Ave.); she was set upon by a mob and her clothing torn almost wholly away. This is a case not in the papers, and no doubt there are many others like it.

Now, in regard to the settlement of the strike. After much parleying by one committee and another the company offered to have every man do as he chose about joining a union, would not discriminate against such, would pay twenty cents an hour (I think it was) for twelve hours' work, and meet committees representative of the union or the employees over any grievance, would reinstate one thousand of their old men immediately if not guilty of acts of violence, and five hundred within ninety days, the rest as soon as might be. The strikers practically, though not formally so far as I am aware, refused the offer. Mahon compliments them on holding together.

The whole situation seems to me one big with meaning. I would not have believed there was a city in our land that would have produced or would have permitted such acts against women. I would not have believed there was so large a disorderly element in our people. A hundred trivial acts show it. Bicyclers ride on the sidewalks (there have been no police save on the cars or in the power-houses for over a month); wagons



block the crossings; torpedoes and firecrackers as well as dynamite and nitro-glycerine are almost constantly exploding. I would not have believed there was such an alignment of class against class. Servants tell their mistresses they wish everyone would be shot who gets on a car. "Oh, of course you are for the strikers," or "Why, naturally you are against them," are common remarks, as though there were no such things as justice or judgment.

What does it all portend? Is it a passing phase, or is it but a part of a wide change, of which another phase is the almost national riot in England as a consequence of the relief of Mafeking? The Anglo-Saxon law-abiding peoples seem to be changing their character somewhat.

And yet my faith is so strong in my country, in my countrymen, that I can think this only a sporadic instance of crime that will never recur. God grant it.

LEONORA B. HALSTED, St. Louis, Mo.

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### The Discussion of Admiral Dewey's Candidacy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I wish to thank you for the extremely favorable notice in your May issue of my article in the March *Anglo-American Magazine*. I regard your article upon the candidature of Admiral Dewey as a model. It conveys to my mind the true spirit of political controversy, a fair, kindly reasoning. There cannot be too many such publications. Their tendency to convince without giving offence and to throw light in a fair, manly and generous manner upon the great questions that affect the race to which we belong cannot but have a beneficial effect. Wishing you every success,

ALBERT GREENWOOD, Hillsboro Bridge, N. H.

## QUESTION BOX

### England's Real Purpose

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—You have defended the English cause in South Africa so strongly that I wonder how you are impressed with the last turn of events. You have set the English case on the high ground that it was all for the good of civilization and not to deprive the Boers of any of their liberties. But now it appears that England means to wipe out both the republics and make them British colonies. If this does not show that the real motive underlying this whole business from the start was to turn all South Africa into British territory, what does it show? A. J. M., New York City.

The English and not the Boers are the real representatives of free government in South Africa. The Boers are not republicans and did not have a republic in anything but the name. They are really an oppressive slave-owning oligarchy. The chief cause of the Boers' great trek to settle beyond the Vaal in 1835 was to continue the system of making slaves of the natives, which England had prohibited. In the light of human freedom, industrial fairness and democratic government, the Boers have no right to the sympathy of civilization, much less to the aid of the United States.

As to the war, they forced it, began it because they saw they would soon be compelled to give political freedom and industrial fairness to those who had made their country rich and out of whom they were getting all their revenue. Should the Transvaal and the Free State both now become British colonies that would not in the least show that such was the original motive of England, any more than the capture of the Philippines

was the motive of our war with Spain ; it was one of the results of the war. The Orange Free State was in no controversy and in no danger of molestation, but it took up arms and helped to invade British territory. Self-preservation demands that when this war is over England shall establish such conditions in South Africa as will prevent a repetition of any such performance.

But one thing is quite certain; if the Free State and the Transvaal are made British colonies their people will probably enjoy more real political freedom, personal protection and industrial opportunities than they ever have under the Boer "republic." The people of Canada enjoy far more freedom than the people of the Transvaal ever did. President Kruger and the few who have grown rich by extortion from the immigrants may lose by the change, but the honest industrial people of South Africa will be the gainers both politically and industrially.

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### **Dr. Schurman's Expansionist Views**

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Dr. Schurman, chairman of the first Philippine commission, seems to have become an out-and-out expansionist, judging from his later speeches on the subject. The change of tone as compared with his early utterances on the Philippine question is very marked. In his article published in your magazine last January he said: "We are in the Philippines, and I am one of those who did not want to be in the Philippines."

Passing that, however, it seems to me that Dr. Schurman, in talking of our mission to expand and enter the world's affairs and trade, fails to distinguish between what might be a perfectly legitimate and proper policy of commercial expansion with protection



to American commerce throughout the world, on the one hand, and on the other a policy of military conquest looking to political annexation and control, which is quite another thing. To secure the open door in China it was not necessary for us to send a navy and army to the Chinese coast and march on Peking. Is there not a very vital distinction in principle between these two lines of policy:—competitive industrial expansion on the one hand and forcible political expansion on the other?

E. M. J., Boston, Mass.

The distinction is very vital indeed. It is true that all progress is expansion but all expansion is not progress. On the contrary, mere expansion of political authority may be retrogression. Expansion, as expressing political evolution toward a higher type of government and civilization, should follow a fundamental principle no less distinct than the law of growth in any other domain.

The only justification for one nation extending its power through military force over another is to protect from molestation and destruction industrial and social development that has already taken place. The open door for the Orient is a policy of supreme wisdom, because it opens the opportunity for the flow of the superior industrial forces of the West into the East, which is the natural forerunner of social and political progress. This opportunity for civilization is worth demanding and protecting, and it is the only innovation into new territory which can justify forceful protection. The difference between peaceful industrial innovation and forceful political confiscation is the difference between natural evolution and military revolution. It is no part of the duty of the United States to be in the military expansion business.

## BOOK REVIEWS

PROPHETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: Carlyle, Ruskin, Tolstoi. By May Alden Ward. Cloth, 16mo, 189 pp. 75 cents. Little, Brown & Company, Boston.

"Before Carlyle died" says Mrs. Ward in her *Prefatory Note*, "he said that John Ruskin was the only man in England who was carrying out his ideas; and Ruskin said recently that Tolstoi is the one man in the world who stands for the movement which he had tried to further."

Because of this thread of connection, the author's sketches of these three men are published together in one volume,—a grouping which, despite many interesting surface similiarities in the men, does not justify itself by any clear unity of thought or philosophy, particularly so far as it includes Carlyle. The gospel of Carlyle, which Mrs. Ward sums up as: "If you have anything to do in the world, DO IT," is wholesome, stimulative, and inspiring to excellence of deed in whatever useful field; but this has no kinship or fellowship with Tolstoi's morbid and discouraging doctrine that all virtue lies in suppressing natural desires and ambitions and reducing oneself to the level of the poorest and lowest of men, on the peculiar theory that for any one to rise above the lot of any other is unjust and contrary to the Christian principle of brotherhood.

Mrs. Ward's sketch of Carlyle, by the way, is far the best of the three; which is natural, considering the superiority of the theme. The great Scotch philosopher and historian towers above Ruskin and Tolstoi as a granite peak above the surrounding foothills. In all three of these sketches there is an easy charm of style,

a sympathy and clearness of interpretation, and a happy marshaling together of typical characteristics and incidents, combining to produce remarkable vivid pictures of three strongly marked individualities.

The description of Carlyle's early struggles, his steadfast idealism, his lack of means, of friends, of appreciation, his awful discouragements and heroic persistence, his joy in the rare scattered rays of hope that at last began to come, is all the deeper in its pathetic sadness from the fine reserve, good taste and sympathetic spirit with which the narrative is told. After telling about the seven long years of loneliness, poverty and toil at dreary Craigenputtoch, and the repeated failures to find a publisher for "*Sartor Resartus*," Mrs. Ward says:

"If it was hard to find a publisher for "*Sartor*," it was still harder to find a public. As it appeared from month to month in *Fraser*, subscribers began to write to the editor, 'Stop that stuff or stop my paper.' 'When is that stupid series of articles by the crazy tailor going to end?' and so on. Only two voices were heard in approval: an Irish Catholic priest from Cork, and a Mr. Emerson from America. The critic of the *Sun* pronounced it 'a heap of clotted nonsense.'"

"And what was this '*Sartor*' which in 1832 fell upon such stony ground, and of which, in 1882, seventy thousand copies were sold by one firm? It was Carlyle's philosophy of life, clothed in quaint garb, and it contains the germ of all his later works."

In the midst of discouragements came the first real help,—the appreciation and sympathy of at least one kindred spirit:—

"A stranger one day alighted at the door and announced himself as Mr. Emerson, of America. 'He had sought out Carlyle in his remote moorland solitude to tell him that he was read and approved in far-off



America. Only the day before, Carlyle had written in his journal: 'I am left here the solitariest, most stranded, most helpless creature that I have been for many years.' Emerson came to say to him, 'Faint not—the word you utter is heard, though in the ends of of the earth and by humblest men; it works, prevails.' The two men talked soul to soul on vital themes and at the end of twenty-four hours parted, friends for life. One result of this visit was a correspondence covering nearly half a century,—a treasure which the world could ill spare."

Fame and success came at last with the publication of "The French Revolution." It was a grateful change to Carlyle, and, wonderful to say, the Tolstoi notion that he was inflicting an injustice on his fellows by accepting the long-delayed good fortune never seems to have occurred to him. Thenceforth his life was no longer a struggle with necessity, although it was never a happy one. His wife's death in 1865 darkened all the remaining years of his life. He was constantly mourning and upbraiding himself for imagined neglect of her while she was living. Carlyle died in February 1881, within a short time of the death of Emerson at Concord.

"In his old age" says Mrs. Ward, "he said of his books: 'I've had but one thing to say from beginning to end of them, and that was, that there's no reliance, for this world or any other, but just the Truth, and that if men did not want to be damned to all eternity they had best give up lying and all kinds of falsehood; that the world was far gone already through lying, and that there's no hope for it but just so far as men find out and believe the Truth, and match their own lives to it.'"

OUTLINES OF ECONOMICS. By Richard T. Ely, LL.D. Cloth, 432 pp., 1900. \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is a text-book on economics intended for college students. An important feature in any text-book is to be concise, clear, direct and specific, while at the same time avoiding narrowness. Professor Ely's book has most of these qualities. It has a historic flavor, and reviews in some way almost every phase of economics with apparent familiarity with the body of literature on the subject. Professor Ely's thinking is more or less flavored with socialism, and almost every controversial phase of the subject relating to distribution and public policy has a socialistic suggestion more or less pronounced.

The book does not stand for any particular theory on any phase of economics. Where questions are beyond controversy it is plain and emphatic, but on those points still in controversy, like profits, interest, wages, etc., the book is comparatively colorless, with a leaning towards collectiveness in public policy and the Austrian school teaching on the theory of distribution.

On the question of individual skill, for instance, which the old economists used to treat as capital, Professor Ely balances himself like an accomplished aerial artist. He admits the marked difference between the present and primitive economic conditions; formerly, under slavery, a man's power was so much property sold with the man, whereas not the man but the services are now sold. He says: "It is hard to draw the line," but he leaves the subject without drawing it. This is carrying so-called impartiality of discussion a little too far to be useful. Mere colorless neutrality is of little aid to the student.

It is quite important, indeed it is fundamental to good thinking, that a clear distinction be drawn be-

tween man and wealth. Few notions have led to more confusion of thought and bad policy than the tacit assumption so generally made by economists that the laborer's skill, moral qualities, experience, etc., are capital. This is fundamentally erroneous. They are not the same as capital at all. Capital is a tool used by men, but these other are qualities of men, they are a part of personal character, and so far as they affect distribution it is not in the form of interest or profits at all but in the form of wages and salaries. They are elements of higher character and standard of living, and consequently of greater expensiveness or cost. They are on the human and not on the wealth side of economic problems.

Human progress ultimately consists in two reverse movements, that is, in the value of human service rising and the value of products falling,—man becoming dearer and wealth cheaper. If experience, skill and education are treated as capital or wealth they necessarily go into the commodity category instead of the human category, and hence are treated from the wealth point of view, which is that they should gradually become cheaper. It was this theory which caused labor to be classed as a commodity to be obtained as cheaply as possible, like any other commodity, which is hostile to every force of progress. The older economists definitely classed skill and experience as capital, even Marshall accepted Mill's mistake in this respect and spoke of a laborer's skill as capital.

Professor Ely does not repeat this in the old-fashioned emphatic sense, but teeters on the topmost rail, leaving it to the student to find out the truth as best he can instead of frankly helping him to it by pointing out the error and furnishing a clear constructive definition which shall separate wealth and service, and



classify everything which culminates in a personal quality as service and only that which is distinct from man as wealth.

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DEMOCRACY. A Study in Government. By James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., of Columbia University. Cloth, 300 pp. \$1.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

In this volume Professor Hyslop has given to the world his distrust of the machinery of American institutions. His book consists of three chapters: "Introduction," "The Nature of the Problem" and "Practical Remedies." The last chapter occupies more than half the book, hence of what he calls practical remedies he supplies an abundance, and they consist mostly in taking the popular element out of our institutions. Wealth is his only test of economic virtue and therefore it should be entrusted with practically all political power.

He charges the masses with refusing to share the economic risks of modern industrial life, also with improvidence and reckless use of income, with failing in self-government, with demanding the fruits of knowledge while their ignorance makes them subservient to the arts of the demagogue.\*

His remedies therefore are constructed on the basis of taking political power away from the masses. He would do it by increasing the appointing power of presidents and governors, and creating commissions by appointment to control the important branches of legislation. He would also take the expenditure of money and important legislation out of the hands of the popular branch of congress and state legislatures and give it exclusively to the senates. For instance, all measures on banking, currency, appropriations and internal improvements should be submitted to the "upper

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\* Page 22.

house" only, and the executive should have the right to veto individual items of expenditure in bills of appropriation. He would limit the suffrage for the election of members of the upper houses, and also for the election of mayors. He would permit universal suffrage in the "lower houses" after having deprived them of any power of legislating on important matters. In short, Professor Hyslop has lost his faith, if ever he had any, in democracy, and recommends the reconstruction of our institutions on an aristocratic wealth-owning basis.

Professor Hyslop's reasoning is candid and caustic but it lacks the touch and scope of the philosopher. It is strong only in its pessimism. Happily, however, in this respect he belongs to a class almost by himself.

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HEREDITY AND HUMAN PROGRESS. By W. Duncan McKim, M. D., Ph.D. Cloth, 279 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

Dr. McKim describes himself as: "Profoundly convinced of the inefficiency of the measures which we bring to bear against the weakness and depravity of our race," and proposes a remedy, which is nothing if not radical, to "stem the ever-strengthening torrents of defective and criminal classes." This, in brief, is that a "*gentle, painless death* should be administered to the *very weak* and the *very vicious who fall into the hands of the State, for maintenance, reformation or punishment*,"—in other words, to idiots, imbecile paupers and hardened criminals.

Now, of course, it is the easiest thing in the world to pick out individual cases where this highly effective and economical plan would seem justifiable, but the obstacle which must everlastingly keep all such schemes out in the realm of purely visionary and impossible propositions is the fact that no man or group of men,

—no, nor of angels, probably—could ever be trusted to decide *that such and such a person could not be reformed but must die*. There is the crux of the whole matter. That little word “very,” which is supposed to describe the kind of vicious and criminal persons who are to be “gently and painlessly” assisted out of this world, contains the whole range of subtle, unknown and unfathomable qualities of character upon whose possibilities no human wisdom is competent to pass the final word.

With Dr. McKim declaring, for example, that John Jones, age thirty, whom he has carefully examined, is incorrigible and should be executed, and John Jones's mother, who presumably also knows something about him!, declaring that there is that within the boy which, bad as he is, can and may reclaim him to useful manhood,—where is the judge or jury that would venture to pass upon the awful issue?

Oh, no! Society has long since passed the point where it can shirk its share of original responsibility for its criminals and imbeciles by killing them,—no matter if the new way of doing it is a little more “gentle” than our savage forefathers' custom of strangling female babies because they were an encumbrance to the tribe.

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## NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

### CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL.

*Education in the United States.* A Series of Monographs prepared for the United States Exhibit at the Paris Exposition, 1900. Edited by Nicholas Murray Butler, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy and Education in Columbia University, New York. Two large volumes, in blue buckram, 469 + 508 pp. \$3.50. J. B. Lyon Company, Albany, N. Y. To be reviewed later.



*The True Citizen. How to Become One.* By W. F. Markwick, D. D., of the Ansonia Board of Education, and W. A. Smith, A. B., Superintendent of the Ansonia City Schools. (Eclectic School Readings.) Cloth, 12mo, 259 pp. 60 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

*Educational Aims and Methods.* Lectures and Addresses. By Sir Joshua Fitch, M. A., LL.D., late Her Majesty's Inspector of Training Colleges, author of "Lectures on Teaching," etc. Cloth, 12mo, 448 pp. \$1.25, net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

#### ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

*The Distribution of Wealth. A Theory of Wages, Interest and Profits.* By John Bates Clark, Ph.D., of Columbia University. Cloth, gilt tops, 442 pp. \$3.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*Colonial Civil Service.* The Selection and Training of Colonial Officers in England, Holland and France. By A. Lawrence Lowell. With an account of the East India College at Haileybury (1806-1857) by H. Morse Stephens. Cloth, 346 pp. \$1.50. 1900. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. Especially timely for American readers.

*Practical Agitation.* By John J. Chapman. 12mo, \$1.25. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. This is an essay on the feasibility of political reform, pointing out methods and emphasizing the principles that should underlie really effective efforts in this direction.

*The Economics of Distribution.* By John A. Hobson, author of "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," etc. Cloth, 361 pp. \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This is the second volume in Macmillan's "Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology."

## FROM JUNE MAGAZINES

"It is not the form of government but the character of the governed which makes the difference between governments."—W. J. STILLMAN, in "Autobiography of W. J. Stillman," *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"The establishment of old-age insurance, upon a scale broad enough to divest the system of any aspect of almsgiving and make it a part of the established economic order, would tend to restore the equilibrium between production and consumption by diminishing the amount of new savings-seeking investment in fields already occupied."—CHARLES A. CONANT, in "Recent Economic Tendencies," *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"In the proper sense opportunism should merely mean doing the best possible with actual conditions as they exist. A compromise which results in a half-step toward evil is all wrong, just as the opportunist who saves himself for the moment by adopting a policy which is fraught with future disaster is all wrong; but no less wrong is the attitude of those who will not come to an agreement through which, or will not follow the course by which, it is alone possible to accomplish practical results for good."—HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in "Latitude and Longitude among Reformers," *The Century*.

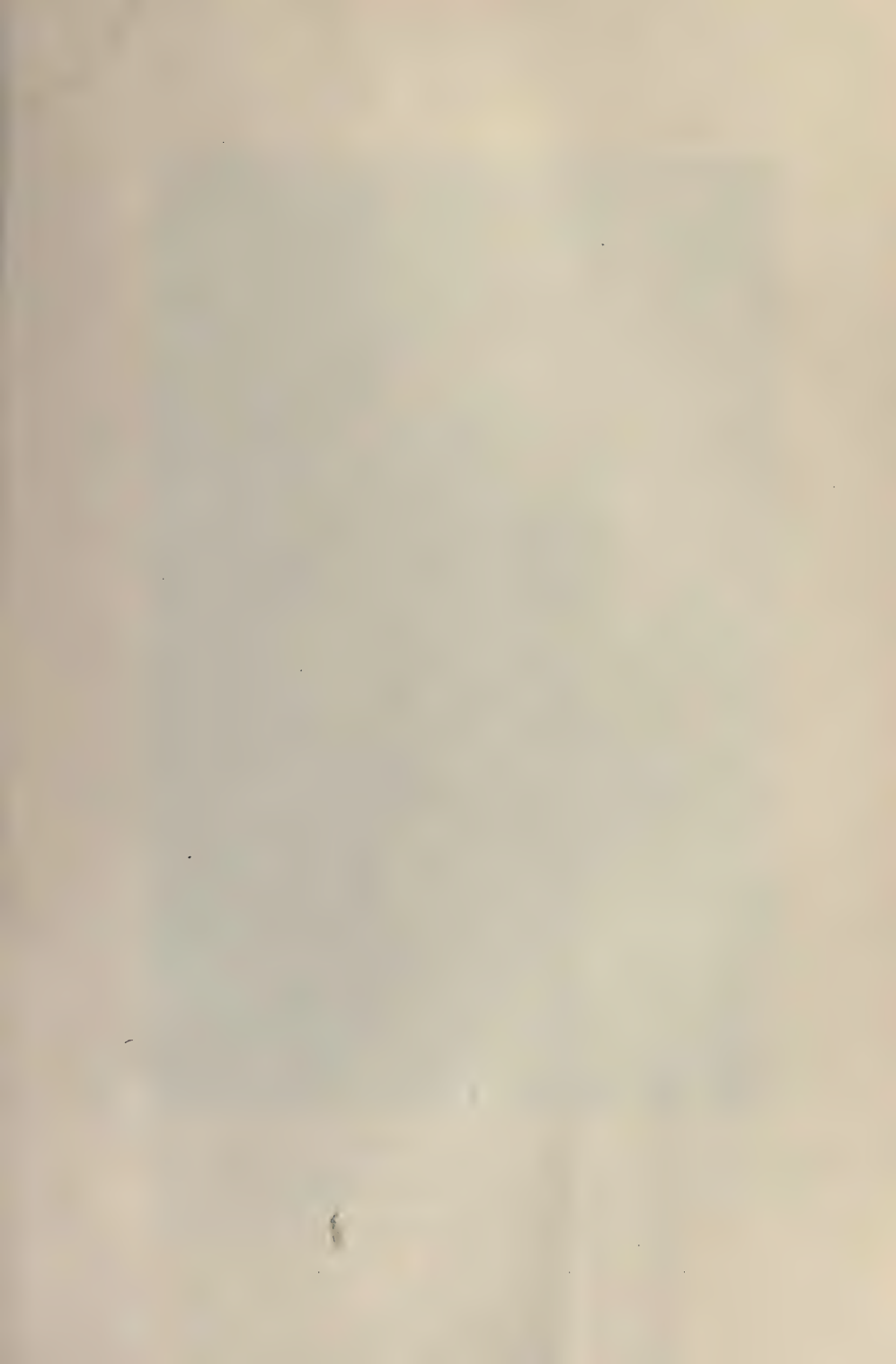
"The Hepburn policy carried to its logical extreme means militarism for the United States. It means the creation of a fleet powerful enough to face any possible combination of the commercial Powers, apparently wounded in their interests—believing themselves, as they would, to be very gravely wounded—though, for my own part, I do not believe that, supposing peace to

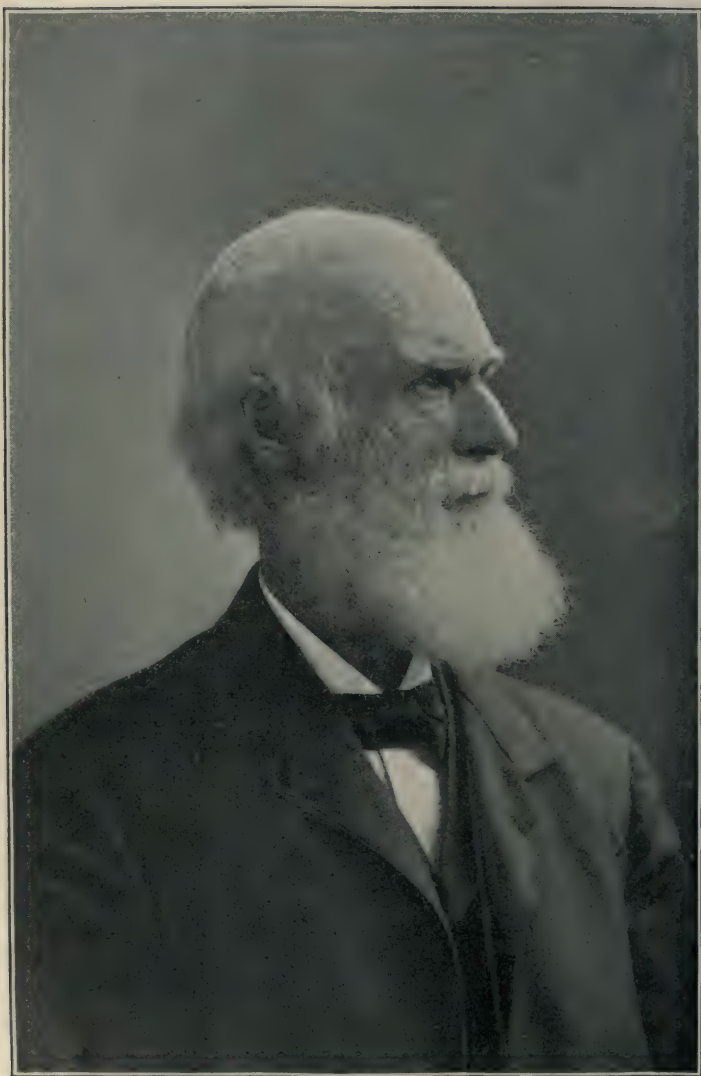
be maintained and the policy to be carried out, it would in the long run benefit the trade of the United States." —SIR CHARLES DILKE, M. P. in "U. K., U. S., and the Ship Canal," *The Forum*.

"Deny him the right to sit among the elect, if you will; talk of his tendency to farce and caricature; call his humor low comedy, and his pathos bathos,—though you shall say none of these things in my presence unchallenged; but the fact remains that every child, in America at least, knows more of England,—its almshouses, debtors' prisons, and law courts, its villages and villagers, its beadles and cheap-jacks and ostlers and coachmen and Boots, its streets and lanes, its lodgings and inns and landladies and roast beef and plum pudding, its ways, manners, and customs,—knows more of these things and a thousand others from Dickens's novels than from all the histories, geographies, biographies, and essays in the language."—KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN, in "Tuppenny Travels in London," *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"France has 38,500,000 inhabitants, of whom about 14,500,000 live by mining, manufactures, transportation, and general commerce. Probably from one-fourth to one-third of this number are actively engaged in the branches named; and, as but a small number are employers or independent, all the rest are workers for wages, presumably at least 3,000,000. What proportion of these are members of unions? According to the last official figures, those for December 31, 1898, only 419,761. Yet the union of this comparatively small number has been the strength of the whole body, and the organization of the few has proved more effective than the aimless agitation of the many."—WALTER B. SCAIFE, in "Organized Labor in France," *The Forum*.







WILLIAM W. BATES

*Former U. S. Commissioner of Navigation*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

### The Chinese Outrages

Murder of all the foreigners in Peking, with no mercy shown even to defenceless women and children, is the dismal news which, if true, would usher in what might prove the gravest crisis that Christendom has faced since the Moorish invasion of Europe. In a sense it might be even graver, for the Moors were actually superior in industrial and artistic civilization to the European nations of the dark ages, while Mohammedanism was not separated from mediæval Christianity by any such gulf as divides the pagan superstitions of China from the Christianity of enlightened nations to-day.

When it is remembered that the Chinese number nearly four hundred millions of human beings, that their army has been trained by modern methods, that they have been storing up supplies of modern weapons and ammunition, and that two million men are already believed to be under arms of some sort and largely inspired with that most dangerous of all fanaticisms, a militant religious frenzy, the magnitude of the threat to civilization is fairly appalling. Continued success of the Boxer uprising might mean more than the mere closing of China against foreign nations; it might result in the overrunning of Asia and attempted intrusion even into Europe of Mongolian hordes striving to repeat the mighty crusades of Genghis Khan.



**Prince Tuan's  
Usurpation**

Prince Tuan, the father of the infant heir to the Chinese throne, and most rabid of the anti-foreign leaders, seems to have practically assumed the reins of power. He certainly has at intervals prevented the old government from protecting the foreign legations, even if it wished to do so. He has practically converted the regular Chinese army into an ally of the Boxer movement, and seems bent on making himself emperor. Thus far he has failed to enlist the viceroys of the southern provinces of China, who are said to be planning a separate government of their own, but unless the Boxer movement is promptly checked there is no telling to what extent the craze may spread throughout the empire. Prince Ching, in Peking, Li Hung Chang at Canton (just ordered north to be governor of Che-Li province, which contains Peking), and the Taotai Sheng, director general of telegraphs, are about the only prominent Chinese authorities upon whom it seems possible for foreigners to rely with any degree of confidence.

**Practical  
Measures of  
Our Government**

The attitude of the United States has been clearly outlined by Secretary Hay in a circular of instructions sent to the American diplomats at the various European capitals late in June. In this circular the situation in Peking is described as "virtual anarchy, whereby power and responsibility are practically devolved upon the local provincial authorities," and for the time being our government regards these authorities "as representing the Chinese people, with whom we seek to remain in peace and friendship." Our immediate purpose is:

"To act concurrently with the other powers, first, in opening up communication with Peking and rescuing the American officials, missionaries and other Americans who are in danger; second, in affording all possible protection everywhere in China to American life and prop-

erty; third, in guarding and protecting all legitimate American interests, and fourth, in aiding to prevent a spread of the disorders to the other provinces of the empire and a recurrence of such disasters."

In furtherance of this policy, Major-General Adna R. Chaffee has been placed in command of the relief expeditions for China, and Rear-Amiral Remey, who succeeded Admiral Dewey in charge of the Asiatic station, has been ordered to replace Rear-Admiral Kempff at Taku. Some 6,000 additional regular troops are to go to the Philippines, thence to China if necessary, and already the ninth and fourteenth regiments of infantry have been ordered from the Philippines to cooperate with the Europeans at Tien Tsin. The ninth infantry, and one battalion of marines under Col. Meade, arrived at Taku on July 10th and have been taking part in the assaults on Tien Tsin. The battleship Oregon was ordered from Hong Kong to Taku, but Captain Wilde being unfamiliar with Chinese waters ran his vessel on a rock in the gulf of Pe-Che-Li, about thirty miles north of Chefoo, on June 28th. For a time it seemed as if the famous battleship must be lost, and if a storm had arisen probably nothing could have saved her. Weather favoring, however, the vessel was floated on the 2nd or 3rd of July and is now being convoyed by the Nashville to the Kure dockyards, Japan, for repairs; this privilege having been courteously and promptly offered by the Japanese government.

Peking  
and  
Tien Tsin

After the murder of Baron von Ketteler, the German minister, about the middle of June, by a fanatical mob while he was passing through the streets of Peking, the Boxer riots rapidly increased in extent and fury until all the foreigners in the city were forced to take refuge in the British legation and wait for the rescue which did not

come. Admiral Seymour's relief column of some 2,300 marines failed to reach Peking, and only narrowly escaped annihilation in fighting its way back to Tien Tsin, near which city, however, it was rescued on June 26th.

It is not known how many foreigners were or are in Peking, estimates ranging all the way from a few hundred to more than a thousand. They held out desperately, but, about June 30th, according to repeated rumors, confirmed on July 15th by the Taotai Sheng, they were overcome and massacred, none remaining alive, and even Prince Ching who tried to rescue them is said to have been killed. Not only the ministers and attachés of the legations, but their wives and children, together with the missionaries and their families who had taken refuge with the legations, are reported to have been exterminated. Subsequent dispatches deny that the massacre has occurred, but thus far the denials are distrusted, and regarded as an effort to gain time. Just as we go to press, a cipher despatch purporting to come from Minister Conger has been received by our state department, and is said to have been sent from Peking on July 18th. If genuine, the British legation was still standing on that date, but the message says: "Quick relief only can prevent general massacre." Previous details of the massacre, however, and the fact that this message is undated, throw grave doubts upon it, but our government is wholly right in acting on the assumption at least that it is genuine.

Meanwhile, Tien Tsin has been the scene of almost constant fighting. The foreign forces in the city, under the command of Admiral Seymour since the return of his expedition, have alternately been besieged by the Chinese and taken part in repeated assaults on the native Chinese city. The troops of the various allied powers, coming up from Taku, it is expected will soon number



50,000 men. Admiral Remey reports that a joint attack on the native city, July 13th, was repulsed with heavy loss, the American casualties numbering more than thirty, including Colonel Liscum of the ninth infantry; but later in the day, or perhaps the next day, a renewed assault was successful and the Admiral says that the "city and forts [are] now in the hands of the allies."

**What Must  
Be Done**

England has persistently urged Japan to go ahead and grapple with the Chinese situation to the full extent of her power, requiring no pledges as to the future. To this Russia has seemingly agreed, but Japan's proposal to increase her force in China from 10,000 to 23,000 men still seems to be "held up" by some unseen force, which is hard to trace to anything except Russian suspicion and jealousy. For the powers to halt and quibble now about any "balance of power" or future partition of China would be a monstrous piece of criminal folly. With united and prompt action, a few decisive victories over the Chinese at the outset, including the capture of Peking and summary punishment of the leaders and rings responsible for the unspeakable horror of the massacre, would probably head off the uprising and restore sane counsels in the government.

Our own government evidently realizes the gravity of the situation. President McKinley has returned to Washington, where the possibility of an extra session of congress is being discussed. Though we take no share in any future partition of China, our immediate duty is clear. It is believed that full power is already in the president's hands to employ all our available military resources in China as may be required for protection of American lives and property, unless a declaration of war or increased levy of troops should become

necessary. The supreme duty of the moment, for all the civilized nations, is to act with the utmost promptness and energy, for if the Chinese tide keeps on rising and is not checked it may bring us to a deadly struggle between western civilization and oriental barbarism.

**Quiet in  
South Africa**

The comparative dearth of news from South Africa is not wholly because Chinese affairs have monopolized public attention. The great decisive steps in the Boer war were completed with the capture of Johannesburg and Pretoria. Since then Lord Roberts has been chiefly engaged in occupying additional towns and pacifying successive districts of the Transvaal, restoring regular railway operation, and pursuing scattered detachments of the Boer troops under Generals Botha in the Transvaal and De Wet in the Orange River colony (as it is now termed since its formal annexation on the 28th of May). General Botha fought a hard battle east of Pretoria on June 24th and 25th, was defeated, but skilfully managed to save his troops from capture. On July 11th a part of his troops succeeded in capturing a squadron of Scots Greys and part of the Lincolnshire regiment, a total of about two hundred men, together with four guns, at Nital's Neck, eighteen miles east of Pretoria. Krugersdorp, Rustenburg and Potchefstroom have been occupied by the British, and General Buller has come all the way up the border and visited Pretoria. The last move reported is the attempted forcing of Van Reenen's pass by a detachment of General Buller's army operating west of Ladysmith. This pass leads directly to Harrismith, in the Orange River colony, and, if the pass is taken and Harrismith captured, General De Wet's Free State forces will be hemmed in on both sides.

Further resistance on the part of the Boers is hopeless; to prolong the struggle means only useless waste

of life. So long as active opposition continues, however, whatever demands for troops may be put upon England in China will have to be furnished mostly from other sources than South Africa.

**Political Conventions and Platforms**

Both of the great political parties have now held their national conventions and the campaign is formally opened. Little active work is expected before September, but the issues are clearly and unmistakably drawn. The republican convention met at Philadelphia on June 19th, unanimously renominated President McKinley, with Governor Roosevelt of New York for vice-president, also unanimously. The democratic convention met at Kansas City on July 4th, unanimously nominated Mr. Bryan for president and ex-Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson for vice-president. At Chicago on June 28th the prohibitionists, as persistent in politics as the Jews in race and religion, nominated John G. Woolley of Illinois for president, and Henry B. Metcalf of Rhode Island for vice-president, on a platform which more nearly confines itself to the liquor question than any platform of the party for several campaigns past.

The republican platform, after endorsing the administration and reciting what it has accomplished, declares for the gold standard, against free silver coinage, in favor of legislation to restrain monopolies, though recognizing "the necessity and propriety of the honest cooperation of capital to meet new business conditions;" in favor of protection and reciprocity, restriction of immigration, educational opportunities and a higher age limit for working children, labor insurance, and protection against convict labor; in favor of liberal pensions, encouragement to American shipping, reduction of war taxes, good roads, free rural mail delivery, reclamation of arid lands; admission to statehood of



New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma, an isthmian canal built, owned, controlled and protected by the United States government, a cabinet department of commerce and industry, and a reorganized consular system; it approves the treaty of Paris, defends the administration's policy in the Philippines, promises to the Filipinos "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties," and promises literal fulfilment of the pledge to give independence to Cuba.

Nearly half of the democratic platform is occupied in denouncing what it calls the administration's policy of "imperialism," in dealing with Porto Rico and the Philippines. This policy it declares to be subversive of the constitution, contrary to the spirit of the declaration of independence, and fatal to free democratic institutions. The Chicago platform of 1896 is endorsed, together with a new specific demand for free coinage of silver at 16-to-1. "Private monopolies," the Dingley tariff, government by injunction, the blacklist, national banks, shipping subsidies, the Hay-Pauncefote canal treaty, militarism, and lavish appropriations, all are denounced. Immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaragua canal is demanded, also election of United States senators by direct popular vote, enlarged powers for the interstate commerce commission, statehood for New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma, reduction and early repeal of the war taxes, evacuation of Cuba, strict exclusion of the Chinese, liberal pensions (a decided novelty in democratic platforms), and the establishment of a cabinet department of labor. Sympathy is expressed with the Boers, and the "ill concealed republican alliance with England" denounced.

**The Dominant  
Issues**

The tariff will hardly be an issue in the campaign, and even the trust question is in the background, because of waning interest in it and the sudden damper put on democratic anti-trust orators by the ice-trust revelations. Money and expansion are the great issues on which this campaign will be fought and decided. Mr. Bryan insisted that the platform should reassert the demand for free silver, and it is becoming apparent that his election might carry with it a favorable congress, both house and senate. This would permit repeal of the gold standard law and establishment of the silver standard, if the party has the courage of its declarations. There is little doubt that Mr. Bryan's personal influence would be thrown in favor of such a step, and the experience at the Kansas City convention demonstrates how arbitrary a type of "imperialism" he exercises over the democratic organization.

It is hard to predict whether money or expansion will figure the more largely in the result, but probably the latter will be the issue of all others most talked about in the campaign. It lends itself readily to flowery oratory, while the money question is of all issues the driest and dullest. Men do not easily go frantic with enthusiasm over a column of ratios, but they will promptly respond to sentiments about the "consent of the governed," unless the orator happens to be in the South and is trying to apply that doctrine to the case of the negroes.

**The Greater and  
Lesser Dangers**

We have not approved and do not approve the administration's Philippine policy. We believe the democratic platform is correct in declaring that: "The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of

government,"—but we regard the latter danger as far less threatening, in practical probabilities, than the former. We believe that if the administration had pursued the same policy towards the Philippines that it did towards Cuba we could have avoided the insurrection and been to-day on the way to peaceful establishment of self-government in the Philippines, retaining a naval and military station at Manila for our exclusive use.

Nevertheless, the problem to-day is a practical one, and we must carefully weigh the probabilities of wise action in determining to whom its working out shall be entrusted. The democratic platform favors an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give the Filipinos independence, but earlier in the document it asserts as a fundamental principle of democratic faith "that the constitution follows the flag" and extends equally over all territory within or possessed by the United States. Since the Philippines have already been annexed, this principle would certainly debar the democrats from carrying out the plan to give the islands independence; for the party would hardly undertake to alienate and thrust out what it asserts is now an inherent part of the United States. It would be driven to the other alternative, of regarding the Filipinos as American citizens, organizing the islands as regular territories, and before long admitting them to statehood.

Judge  
Townsend's  
Decision

The republican program at present gives no hint of future independence for the Philippines, but neither is the party bound to any theory which would compel it, if in power, to confer upon these semi-barbarians the full rights of American citizenship, which is a danger to the republic a hundred-fold more real than the somewhat vague threat of "imperialism." The republicans have fully adopted



the doctrine that congress has power to govern these new possessions without admitting them into the union, either as territories or states. This view is sustained by a long line of precedents, and more recently by a decision of Judge Wm. K. Townsend in the United States district court for the southern district of New York, in the course of which he declared that:

"To deny this power to govern territory at arm's length would be to thwart the intention to make the United States an unfettered sovereign in foreign affairs; for, if we wage war successfully, we must sometime become, as many think we are now, charged with territory which it would be the greatest folly to incorporate at once into our union, making our laws its laws, its citizens our citizens, our taxes its taxes; and which, on the other hand, international considerations and the sense of our responsibility to its inhabitants may forbid us to abandon. The construction of the constitution which would limit our sovereign power would force us into a dilemma between violating our duty to other nations and to the people under our care, on the one hand, and violating our duty to ourselves, on the other. That construction would in such case imperil the honorable existence of our republic. It could not have been intended by those who framed our constitution.

"There has been found, then, no reason, either on principle or authority, why the United States should not accept sovereignty over territory without admitting it as an integral part of the union or making it bear the burden of the taxation uniform throughout the nation. To deny this power is to deny to this nation an important attribute of sovereignty."

This right of congress to exercise the sovereign authority of the nation was asserted by the first republican convention in 1856, as a weapon against the extension of slavery in the territories, and it was reasserted in the first draft of the Philadelphia platform in 1900, but surreptitiously removed. President McKinley, in his speech of acceptance, repeated the declaration with emphasis and thus made it an unquestioned part of the administration's doctrine. Under present circumstances, a policy guided by this principle, even though it does not promise independence for the Philippines, at least leaves that question open and debatable, and involves less danger to democratic institutions

at home than would assuredly come from any plan of incorporating these Asiatics within the union, which would include free trade with the islands, free immigration from thence to this country, and eventually full and equal voting rights for the natives in the decision of American issues and election of American officials.

**New Competition  
with "Trusts"**

Experience is continually showing in clearer light what are the essential features and limitations of the industrial combination movement which to-day seems so thoroughly to dominate business conditions. Most prominent is the persistence of old and growth of new competition, which these giants of industry have not only failed to suppress but even seem to invite in spite of themselves.

The *New York Journal of Commerce*, in commenting upon the statistics of new corporations during the past year (reaching a total capitalization of almost three and one-half billion dollars) says that: "It is certain that for several months past a large percentage of these new incorporations represented new and competing capital, the consolidation movement having reached its climax last midsummer." The above grand total of capitalization, moreover, does not include companies with less than one million dollars capital, and therefore, says the *Journal of Commerce*: "Our list is far from complete because many of these companies start out with very moderate capital, yet in the aggregate they are capable of giving the 'trusts' serious competition." The same publication calls attention to the formation of several new tin-plate companies to compete with the tin-plate "trusts," one with a capital of \$5,000,000; likewise, of a number of independent paper concerns, competing with the International Paper Company. Even the Standard Oil Company is far from being a "monopoly;" one of its leading rivals, the Pure Oil Company, has

lately increased its capital stock from one to ten million dollars.

**Gas Rates in  
New York**

On the other hand several recent changes in prices are regarded as evidence of the arbitrary power exerted by "monopoly."

The gas companies in New York city, for example, have recently restored the price of gas to the legal limit of \$1.05 per thousand feet. The competitive price of 65 cents was practically a losing figure, for some of the companies at least, and a reasonable increase could not have been objected to. But to go to the extreme limit the law allows shows very poor business judgment and indifference to what either economic law or statute law may and probably will do. Without doubt another attempt will be made to lower the price of gas still further by legislation next winter, and perhaps to an unwarranted degree, which the companies could have forestalled by a moderate and conservative policy. It is said that a plan is on foot to remove all the gas works to Astoria, L. I., which would of course involve a large expense. Without belittling the advantage to the city that would come from removal of these pestiferous nuisances, there is no serious evidence that the increased price of gas is necessary to permit of this improvement. The companies have valuable land properties in the city which would be sold if the plants were removed, and it is not at all obvious that the consumers need have to pay for any part of the proposed change.

**Iron and  
Steel Prices**

The "boom" demand for iron and steel products having largely fallen off, while cost of production has lessened, several companies have commenced cutting prices, until there is prospect of general demoralization in the industry. This has brought about several meetings



of the representatives of the principal companies, with the supposed object of agreeing on some price level which shall be adhered to while it lasts, in much the same way as the trunk line railroads strive to agree on uniform rates to avoid cut-throat competition. No action has been taken yet, and there need be little apprehension of a "squeeze" in prices. The temptation to sell at a shading off from the agreed schedule, especially when business is dull, is so great that no such agreement ever is or can be of more than temporary effect, while on the other hand if the price level agreed upon is not moderate new outside competition soon forces a break. Such being the case it is quite possible that stability of business conditions, including fairness to consumers and steady employment to labor, may often be better secured by efforts to observe periodical uniformity of prices so long as conditions warrant the schedules agreed upon, with adoption of lower rates when the old become untenable, than by wholesale reckless competition with shut-downs and bankruptcy for a considerable portion of the competing industries.

#### **The Rise in Sugar**

Sugar has advanced almost one cent a pound since the consolidation of the Mollenhauer, National and Doscher refineries into the new National Sugar Refining Company with a capital of \$20,000,000. The new company has virtually suspended competition with the American Sugar Refining Company, but it is positively denied that the independent refineries have made an agreement on prices with the "trust." The president of the McCahan Sugar Refining Company, of Philadelphia, declares that the independent companies have been literally losing money, as a result of the prolonged competition which forced even the "trust" to pass its last

dividend ; and at present they are simply declining to compete, at least until some of these losses can be made up. At the same time, if the domestic refineries are resting on their oars foreign sugar manufacturers are not, and there is now a sharp increase in offerings of foreign refined sugar at less than six cents a pound. It is doubtful if the present price can be maintained any length of time. Whether the rise is justifiable for the moment or not, for the reasons assigned, it should be noted that it is the independent refiners who are declining to compete, while, if it were not true that they at least have been losing money at recent prices, they would probably have seized this opportunity to make new inroads on the business of the "trust." Mr. James H. Post, president of the new sugar company, declares the cost of refining raw sugar, including the revenue tax, to be 35 cents per hundred pounds, while the loss of weight in refining is equivalent to 28 cents ; a total of 63 cents, or 63-100 of a cent per pound. Considering that raw sugar is now quoted at 4 13-16 cents per pound, and that the general expenses of the business as well as of refining must be added, there does not seem to be a very great profit margin on refined sugar even at 6 cents per pound.

But perhaps the most interesting item of  
**Dissolution of**  
**Certain "Trusts"** all in recent industrial developments is the dissolution of the National Wall-Paper Company and the Michigan and Ohio Plaster Company. Both these concerns were consolidations of numerous formerly competing companies, and both found themselves unable to keep up with the rapid growth of outside competition. The wall-paper "trust" has been in existence nearly eight years, with a capital of about \$35,000,000. In explaining the dissolution, President Burn said :

"Although the company has done a large business, its profits have not been commensurate with the expectations of the stockholders, due to the fact that its existence has to such an extent stimulated competition that the number of plants engaged in the manufacture of wall-paper has within the last few years been practically doubled.

"It has also been demonstrated that the manufacture of wall-paper involves elements of so peculiar a nature, such as designs, that it cannot be as successfully conducted through the medium of a combination as it can through independent isolated plants. Individual taste and the personality of the manufacturer play an important part, which in a combination consisting of numerous plants is apt to be overlooked."

These dissolutions will probably be followed by others as time goes on. The workings of economic law will determine what kinds of industry can be made to yield greater economy by combination than under separate individual management and competition. The combination movement for the past two or three years has been practically a "craze," based on the notion that here was a new universal "Klondike" sort of opportunity for all kinds of industry. For a while the boom has carried most of them along. Now, the settling down to normal business conditions, wearing off of the glamour, and keen probing of the situation, are revealing openings and chinks for the wedge of competition on all sides, and the weeding-out process is beginning. Many combinations will be forced to dissolve and continue as separate concerns. Others will stand the test and prove that with them at least the economies and advantages of large corporate organization are real. Even these, however, will have to learn that their advantages can only be kept by such a policy as to prices, quality of product, and method of dealing with the trade and with the public, as shall prove superior to anything that a break-up and return to small competing concerns could offer. Whenever a large combination of capital violates this sort of policy it will simply be sowing the seeds of disintegration, whereof the harvest, whether quick or slow, is sure to ripen.



## SOUND SHIPPING PROTECTION

WILLIAM W. BATES, FORMER UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF  
NAVIGATION

What has been vaguely called the shipping question—a subject of agitation since the civil war—has become at last a well-defined problem for governmental solution. It is no longer, shall we have vessels of our own for the foreign trade, as we have for the domestic, but by what steps shall congress proceed to create and maintain a marine ample for our great and rapidly growing commerce? The proposition before the country is not that “something be done for shipping,” but that a true specific for our shipping atrophy be administered. A correct diagnosis needs to be made, the history of the case thoroughly traced, the effects of the treatment well assured. Failing in our skill, we shall be all at sea again.

Be it therefore clearly noted that the salient and conspicuous facts in the case of our shipping in foreign trade are these : (1) That the policy now existing, under which our navigation has lost its life, is one of unprotection—free carrying in all trades, open competition with all nations, no defence to their aggressions. (2) That this interest was once well protected. Successful American navigation, in the height of its glory, was styled “the child of protection.” (3) That while our navigation was protected it flourished ; since it has

been unprotected it has lost tone, declined, and decayed. (4) While our rivals have never ceased to improve conditions for competition, and some have disregarded equity in contriving protections, our government has done nothing to save our rights or help our interests—any more than if navigation were a useless industry. Since the civil war, protection, as a principle of government, has ruled successfully, but its sway has not included the sea—not yet,—the sea has been ignored except for the coasting trade.

First, what is meant by ship protection? Broadly defined, it consists of one or more, or a system of, artificial conditions enforced by the government, the institutions or the people of a nation favoring the use and employment of its own ships; and, necessarily, impeding, checking or inhibiting the use and employment of foreign vessels in its own commerce. Its vital principle is *discrimination*. This may be applied by the government at its custom houses; by the boards of trade in their commercial rules; by underwriters in their policies and rates; by register associations in their classification systems, surveys, and ratings; by corporations, firms, and individuals in making engagements; and by other agencies in different ways. National interest and patriotic sentiment are supposed to inspire the different methods in use. In polite terms, the word "preference" covers all cases. In business, preference rules everywhere. Selfish grounds for this will occur while human nature survives. To illustrate: shipping is the apple of the British eye. France is an enemy of old. French ship-owners have complained to their government that when their ships can get outward freights in British ports the corporations controlling the docks will not assign them berths, and they have to depart in ballast. In France, similar protection cannot be given to French vessels, as the government controls the docks, and

every ship making application gets her turn, otherwise national difficulties would be originated.

Take another instance: the Liverpool corn exchange provides that cargoes of grain, to be "regular" for sales en route, must be British insured. This throws an American vessel offering for engagement into the hands of British underwriters, classification societies and marine inspectors, whose preference is always for their own flag. Their say taken, ten to one a British ship gets the cargo. If an American gets it, the rate of insurance will be higher and the freight rate will have to be cut from fifteen to fifty per cent. It is largely by such abuses American ships have been run off the ocean. We are powerless, except with the arm of our government, to compel fair play for our ocean shipping. But the government we have will, as cheerfully as if our ships had justice from her people, give the carriage of our mails to the steamers of Great Britain. Every dollar thus spent saves one for our rival. Only scores of pages could fully set forth the ways in which every nation but our own strives to increase or maintain its shipping power. This fact alone has weight sufficient to prove that shipping upon the sea in prosperous state is naught else than a product of protection, as circumstances or policies have induced.

Take our own case: while we have lost our foreign carrying, we enjoy an unequalled domestic trade. How did we get it and how is it maintained? By simple regulations of trade—discriminating tonnage duties and inhibitive law. Until 1804 it cost foreign vessels 50 cents, but our own only 6 cents, per ton for entrance fees to our ports. From 1804 to 1817 the discrimination was 94 cents; since 1817 foreign carrying between American ports has been illegal. This protection it is that has prevented foreign nations from appropriating our coasting, lake, and river-carrying; while the want



of the like in our foreign commerce has let go our ocean freighting to any power prepared to bear it off, by fair means or foul.

Referring to the principles of sound shipping protection—what are they? Let history illustrate. When our government was founded it considered the question of home or foreign shipping. Development of shipping power became our policy. To accomplish this, the *employment* of our shipping was essential. Somebody must employ it, or it would not exist. Clearly, foreigners could not be expected so to do, and that somebody had to be ourselves in our own commerce. But we had to secure this result by law. Our people were therefore *induced to prefer* the employment and use of our own vessels. This was the reason that many of our most enterprising citizens took up the important interests of shipbuilding, navigation and commerce, and carried them forward to the strengthening, enrichment and the establishment of the republic. Our rise as a maritime power took scarcely ten years of time. Our growth and expansion in proportionate carriage increased from a percentage of 23 to an average above 90, in our own commerce; and from a per capita of ship admeasurement of 3.64 cubic feet to 13.43, at the acme. In forty years we had passed the summit of success, and declination had set in. This last was not from any failure of original law, nor from any fault of the shipping interest, but was due entirely to *a change of policy*. We quit, gradually, under conventions with foreign nations, protecting the use of our own vessels, and shared with strange ships the rights and privileges that belonged only to our own. In defence of this course we had legislators who argued that the "healthy infant of navigation" had grown to be "a giant, able to sail the world over, exercising a mastery of commerce, without preference or protection of any kind." Those of

this faith were greatly mistaken. Their comparison was sophistical. What has to be raised up has to be supported. Remove support and descent follows. What will soonest create a marine will best maintain it. What cannot create a marine cannot maintain it. These things we should know, yet we have public men who say: "We will do something for shipping, we will give it a start, make it whirl like a top, and then leave it to spin itself!"

Flighty notions like these consist not with a knowledge of sound ship protection, nor with faith in the use of protection where there is need of it. Some subsidy advocates exploit these ideas. Others assert that our primal policy was only a scheme of counter-action to the ship protection of other countries,—what of protection really existed came from circumstances outside our statutes. This sophistry has an object—to square their theory with the facts of history, and to maintain, if possible, that "navigation cannot be protected, but may be subsidized." To admit that our shipping ever was protected is to admit that it can be again; moreover, that it should be, rather than subsidized, since the one calls only for wit, while the other takes money. Those who strangely prefer subsidy to protection will scarcely deny that the British "navigation laws" were protective and raised to power the "mistress of the seas." The British system consisted mainly of prohibitory law levelled at the *employment* of foreign ships. The American plan—a counter one if you will—embraced regulations of trade for the establishment of *preference*. Experience proved it was not needful to prohibit in order to protect. Reason concludes, if our plan overcame or offset the British, that it must have protected as well or better. It did, in fact, create an equivalence in the conditions of navigation between our own and all other countries. Our fathers favored a "free commerce,"

meaning to say as well, they opposed a "prohibited" commerce such as England had instituted and maintained. In this true sense our commerce and navigation have always been "free," though, for ship protection, foreigners paid extra duties on tonnage and on goods while it lasted. While the principle of British ship protection was monopolistic, the essence of American law was handicapped permission. The preference secured in our case was the right of a free people. What could not be thus obtained we did not attempt to get. We resorted to no foul play, and our government had a care that we suffered none that could be helped.

For self protection, as for advantageous use, ships should carry both ways. Then, with competition free, vessels prosper, and protection by the state seems little needed. But a difficulty is this: the merchants and underwriters of every nation, in whatever country situated, prefer as a rule to employ and insure hulls and cargoes of their native flag. Nearly all our commerce is now in foreign hands, and, naturally, foreign ships have the call both ways. In early times our export carrying depended mainly on the natural preference of merchants and underwriters of our own for our own vessels. Our import carrying could not so depend; foreigners, mostly, having the say abroad. But inducements could create a preference. How was this effected? By discriminating tariff and tonnage duties. While these continued our ships abroad got employment and despatch even better than at home where legal inducements were not extant. Our proportionate carriage of imports averaged six or seven per cent. higher than for exports. Foreign ships often came in ballast, having freights but one way. Our ships sailed with assurance, carried the cheaper for being employed both ways, and held their trade the easier. But our policy had no sooner changed—our rivals getting equal footing at the



custom-house—than they cut gradually into our import employment until foreign shipping changed place with American and became carriers both ways. This brought foreign merchants, bankers, and underwriters into the chief conduct of our commerce, and finally into its engrossment.

Thus it will be seen that the British proposition—first mooted in 1783, first prepared for by parliament in 1802, finally consummated in 1815—to do away with “legislative” ship protection in the trans-Atlantic trade, was a strictly business one. The British government understood it like a game of chess. Our government has not found out yet how and why “checkmate” was called to us many years ago. It pretends to think now that a subsidy scheme running ten to twenty years will bring us back our long-lost trade, our unequalled shipping, our enterprising merchants, our faithful underwriters and our obliging bankers. This great work, only possible through a continuous policy of sound shipping protection, is to be made dependent on national revenue; on the reluctance of our people to tax themselves for the support of an industry, however important; on the mercy of politicians who will kill the reputations of one another in creating issues for office; on the chances of success from the espousal of a false and corrupting governmental principle,—a principle that cannot meet the case, that is not protective in its action, that nowhere has ever built up a marine acting alone.

The shipping subsidy bill recently debated in congress is not one for ship *employment*. It provides no way to change the carriage of cargoes from foreign to American ships. It provides better for idleness than for work. Its very basis is sophistical—“compensation” to owners for the extra cost of vessels, of running them under our flag, and against protected competition. Build a ship and sail her over the ocean

and back, and the government owes the owner a debt! What an absurdity! What the government should do for American owners is like what it does for navigation itself in widening rivers and deepening harbors—to clear the way, to make “deep water.” Secure a place on the sea for American ships, protect their *employment* by trade regulations; and the cost of vessels, the wages of crews, the protections of foreign nations—the economics of the case—will sink out of sight. These points are given prominence for argument sake. We have lost our place on the sea by losing preference for employment. We shall regain it only by again getting loads both ways, getting back our merchants and underwriters and our command of our own trade. This is a business proposition. The subsidy scheme disregards true economic principles; it slights a fundamental of business success—industry; it ignores the efficient cause of our shipping decay—the want of protection to employment; it falsifies our maritime experience; it violates sound maxims of government—setting up an industry for the treasury to support, that, getting justice from the government, will support itself. It has neither strength, resilience nor durability, qualities essential in the materials of ships and in the principles of shipping protection. This proposition declares, virtually, that we never had ship protection; that we have not, especially since the war, suffered severely from the want of it; that we do not now or hereafter need it; and that we shall not have it now or ever—it is *subsidy* or nothing. If our owners can sell their space—to John Doe or Richard Roe for a penny a ton—their ships may draw “compensation” for running empty. That will be better than to strike at the employment of foreign vessels, creating bother for the state department; though the governments, the institutions, and the people of foreign countries make no bones of striking in some way at

the employment of American ships—which is naughty in them! This appeal for subsidy is insignificant.

It were a waste of time to traverse at length the foolishness of any proposition to create and maintain a marine in the foreign trade at the expense of the people. They have never sanctioned the idea and never will. If the entire marine engaged in our commerce this year was American, the “compensation” of the measure pending would exceed in amount \$40,000,000. Our commerce and the shipping to carry it increases at an average rate exceeding 6 per cent. In sixteen years half of the marine in our commerce would call for \$40,000,000; three-fourths, for \$60,000,000. We should do this proportion of our own carrying. If we ever let up on taxation and appropriation to maintain the marine after we get it, decadence and decay will follow. It is simply preposterous to assert the contrary. Great Britain has been paying mail subsidies for *sixty* years, and dare not quit—never will. To enter the rapids of Niagara is to shoot the falls. “But,” say the advocates of the bill in question, “we will limit expenditure—only \$9,000,000 shall be paid out in any year.” Then, you *limit and bound the size* of the marine, or you falsify the basis of your calculations for “compensation.” The horse that was put on commons, shorter and shorter each week down to the bare rock, starved before he got used to a “pro-rata” diet. He would have done better to have begun at the rock. A *nine million* marine would not exceed in size 800,000 tons, gross. Our requirement is over 6,000,000 tons, of which three-fourths at least should be American. So the proposition is not at all for a marine ample for our commerce, but for a runt of a thing unworthy of pride. Meantime, foreign shipping is to continue in our trade with the same footing at the custom house as our own.

In vain would be the passage of such a measure.



Our shipping has now unequal footing for a competition with foreign shipping. It is not in the nature of subsidy to produce equivalence. Sophistry may work this out, but events will fail to do so. To illustrate: There is engaged in the trade of Brazil certain shipping houses—British, French and German. Their vessels carry from home ports to Brazilian, thence to ports of the United States, and thence to their own. They have a fine trade,—cargoes three ways. The French ships are under bounty in addition. All have a protection to employment which has become quite common abroad. Strange to say, it is the very same for each of the three flags—a freight “ring” or “combine.” Our consul-general at Rio de Janeiro reports that this ring contracts with shippers to the United States to pay them rebates of 5 per cent., half yearly, on all freightage paid, provided said shippers have employed no vessels but those of the ring aforesaid. Possibly this protection applies to the business hence to Europe, and thence to Brazil. It is common that American goods go to Brazil via Europe, also that American vessels going to Brazil find little of cargo to carry. Coming home there is nothing unless they have an order for a cargo, or one is bought. What will correct this situation—regulations of trade, or “compensation” for returning in ballast? Subsidy advocates say: “Let the rings alone, the treasury vaults are straining to tumble out their gold.” Extra duties on goods, and on foreign tonnage—not Brazilian—would soon give the carrying now done by the ring to American or Brazilian vessels, whose right alone it is to do it.

Another illustration: for some time past certain British shipping houses, situated in New York, have had a “combine” in the carrying-trade to Australia. The pioneer, a few years ago, was knighted by the queen for his control of trade. The concerns forming this ring require shippers to contract to send all goods

by their lines; for this they grant a rebate of 10 per cent., payable half yearly. The shipper may be a manufacturer or a broker. In the first case, the "combine" is loaned 10 per cent. of the freightage free of interest; in the second case, the rebate is peccant money. No wonder freights are higher hence to Australia than from Europe. Our manufacturers say: "This combine should be broken up." But the subsidy measure proposed in congress would not do it. The "ring" secures employment through a business proposition, which "compensation" to the vessel-owner does not meet. If he cuts the rates he decreases or gives away his "aid" which enables him to run at all, as the argument goes. Moreover, the rebate of the ring is used as a club. Subsidy would be powerless to knock it down. The need of the occasion is a counter protection to employment; extra tonnage duties on ships coming from countries to which they do not belong, and inducements to exporters to prefer American to foreign ships.

Yet another illustration: In 1890 an underwriters' "combine" of sixteen British companies laid their plans—to advance British shipping—for driving American vessels out of the Pacific coast trade with Europe. The foulest kind of discriminative insurance rates had been tried by the same companies for twenty years without entire success to effect the same purpose. A last desperate thing must be done. Wherefore? That freight rates might rule higher. It had been proved that American ships carried cheapest, even with one-third less employment, made the quickest and safest passages, and saved to the farmers of the coast more than half a million of dollars annually. The "combine" succeeded. How? By disregarding their own rules of ship inspection applied to every other trade in the world. By agreeing to special rules which would, as they did,

effect the purpose in view. For particulars of this and other work of the British underwriters, for the protection of employment for British shipping, see the writer's work, "American Marine." The fact is indisputable, foreign shipping and insurance rings now rule ocean carrying.

A few words may be in order as to the bounty policies of France and Italy, as it is said their lines should be followed. France has been "aiding" her marine with building and sailing bounties for nineteen years, Italy for fifteen years. The vessels of both nations run freely in our foreign trade. If state "aid" be a specific for shipping decay—as potential in causing growth and development of ship-owning and building, as we are told that it is by advocates of the pending bill—how happens it that the commerce of our principal ports has not, in the smallest degree, yet felt effects from French and Italian bounties? That is to say, why has British shipping, which does the lion's share of carrying at all these ports, not been sensibly affected, and, at least, some of it, driven off? From custom-house returns of tonnage taxes paid by vessels of all nations it appears that since 1893 French vessels have paid, each year, less and less of proportionate tax, the falling off being 40 per cent.; Italian payments have fallen off 31 per cent.; while British have increased, on the average, nearly 4 per cent. British freighters have neither bounty nor subsidy. The French and Italians sail their ships much the cheaper. They can buy abroad if they wish. A question in point right here: If the French and Italians, with their "aid," lose trade where the British gain, what is the encouragement from their experience; why should Americans do better under the pending bill?

We have now as briefly as possible considered the experience of sound shipping protection and the un-



serviceableness of any subsidy scheme to build up and maintain an American marine ample for our commerce. It remains to notice a false objection to the former method. This is, that regulations of trade—discriminating duties—“are not a practical measure.” The reason assigned is sophistical, to wit: we are bound by “treaties” not thus to protect our shipping, it being the fact that the “treaties” are only time conventions for “maritime reciprocity,” out of date long ago, and out of force at any time after one year’s notice of annulment. The truth in the objection is but an atom of technicality, unworthy of serious consideration. These conventions are not helpful to us—they never were. We were twenty-six years without any of them, and in that time built up and maintained a marine of unequalled utility and prestige. By these unwise conventions we have lost that marine with the name and fame that it brought to the young republic. Now we need the most efficient protection possible to be enforced, or the chance is 100 to 1 there will never be again in our foreign trade a truly American marine, the pride of state and nation. Certain steamship managers think they see advantage in larger receipts by the amount of subsidy they can command. Counsel is employed. The skill to argue white is gray, that gray is green, blue, black or red, the nerve to dare take any way to make the stern appear the head, easily proves it up, that treaty subordination, *good for us*, makes subsidy the “only thing” for shipping restoration. The same false light appeared thirty years ago when “free ships” were mooted; and twenty years ago when “bounty” made its debut in congress. Every false system belies the true. Every wrong vilifies the right. Examine all things, select the good, reject the bad. Let reason rule.

## THE TWO PLATFORMS

In a few short weeks the American people by popular vote will again decide to which of the two political parties shall be entrusted the administration of the nation's affairs for the opening four years of the twentieth century. Together with the history of the respective parties, their platform declarations of policy are the basis for forming the judgment. In comparing the platforms, however, something more than the literal wording is to be considered. Frankness and evident sincerity are matters of considerable importance. Only to the degree that the declarations are specific, frank, and consistent with previous conduct, can they be taken in good faith as sincere declarations of policy.

It is never true that one party is all right and the other all wrong,—that one is chargeable with all the blunders and the other entirely free from mistakes. In judging the two parties, therefore, the question is which under existing conditions represents the policy containing fewest and least vital errors, and which, judged by its history and platform, represents the policy that all in all would best tend to promote prosperity, financial stability and integrity at home, and sustain the nation's honor and credit abroad.

The subjects discussed in the platforms, which most directly affect national welfare in these respects, are (1) our foreign policy, (2) money, (3) trusts and corporations, (4) the tariff and (5) labor.

I. Let us compare the two platforms on foreign policy. In regard to Cuba, the Kansas City platform says: "We demand the prompt and honest fulfilment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exer-

cise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the island of Cuba except for its pacification."

On the same subject the Philadelphia platform says: "To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed." The only respect in which these two differ is that the democratic statement is slightly longer; it simply demands what the republican platform pledges in direct and emphatic terms.

On the question of the Philippines, the Kansas City declaration is eloquent and rhetorical. It says: "We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into states in the union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens." This is good doctrine, but in the case of the Philippines we have taken the territory and Mr. Bryan favored confirmation of the treaty by which the islands were purchased for \$20,000,000. The time for opposition to this was before, not after, the fact. Nobody pretends, not even Mr. Bryan himself, that he would undo the treaty of Paris and give the Philippines back to Spain, or even leave them to hew out a government for themselves. The mistake on this point, if mistake it is, has passed into history. It may be criticised but it cannot be undone, and if Mr. Bryan were elected he would not try to undo it. Whether or not we shall govern the Philippines is not now a debatable question, hence it is in no sense an issue. The only open question on that subject is, how shall our authority be exercised? On this point the Kansas City platform demands that we give to the Filipinos, "first, a stable form of government; second, independence, and, third, protection from outside interference." What right has Mr. Bryan to impose these things on the Filipinos without their consent? That is rank imperialism.



Wherein does this proposition differ from the position of the administration? The Philadelphia platform says :

“ Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.”

This is a simple frank statement of the facts, from which there is no escape after once assuming authority in the Philippines, which Mr. Bryan and his party helped to establish. Establish order first, this is indispensable if anything else is to be done. Having done that, the republicans promise to give the greatest amount of liberty consistent with safety. What more could anybody do? That is indispensable to establishing a “stable form of government,” demanded by the Kansas City platform. It is clear, therefore, when the democratic platform leaves rhetoric and tries to be practical it is compelled to ask for exactly what the administration pledges itself to accomplish, namely, the establishment of a “stable government,” with the maximum freedom consistent with safety.

Whether the Philippines shall have entire independence in the future must depend, even according to the Kansas City platform, upon their ability to maintain a stable form of government. Therefore, sifted down to anything verging on the practical, it is clear that even on expansion the Kansas City platform contains nothing that is not vouchsafed in the Philadelphia platform.

II. On the question of money, the platforms are emphatic in tone and opposite in doctrine. The Philadelphia platform emphatically declares in favor of sound money, and says :

"We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the fifty-sixth congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis have been secured.

"We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. . . . We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver."

This is an undisguised declaration in favor of the gold standard and of maintaining all our money at parity with the standard, also favoring further reform in our banking system, giving greater accommodation to business at lower rates of interest.

Against this the Kansas City platform declares :

"We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of congress as a step forward in the republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the national government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control all the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase. The republican currency scheme is therefore a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt . . . and we demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as this government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them."

This means that if successful the democratic party would repeal the new currency law, which puts our entire currency on a par with gold and establishes our credit throughout the world ; would abolish national banks, increase fiat government money, and reduce our standard money and with it our entire currency to forty-six cents on the dollar.

It is difficult to imagine a convention of lunatics who could devise anything farther from sound monetary ideas and scientific finance than is here proposed. Nothing worse in finance was ever suggested by any-

body anywhere. It has not a single redeeming feature. It is in direct opposition to all scientific principles of finance.

III. On the question of trusts and corporations the Kansas City platform is much more explicit. It declares:

"Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. . . . We pledge the democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, state and city against private monopoly in every form."

This is highly emphatic but woefully indefinite. It denounces monopolies, implying that all corporations are monopolies, whereas almost no corporations are monopolies. There is scarcely a monopoly in the United States, except the post-office, a few corporations operating exclusive franchises for street railroads in small cities, and the owners of patents; so that, while this seems very energetic, reduced to practical results it is little more than words. The only attempt at a practical proposition is the suggestion that corporations doing inter-state business should be subjected to a federal license. If this were constitutional, and should be reduced to practice, it would be a truly mediæval method of substituting paternalism for free industry. It is the nearest imitation of the middle ages town permit to do business that has been seriously suggested by any public man or organization in fifty years.

On this subject the Philadelphia platform says:

"We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest cooperation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers and all who are engaged in industry and commerce."



This is a concise, rational statement. It at once recognizes the necessity of corporate enterprises and the disadvantages of abnormal attempts to restrict business by creating unnatural monopoly, that is to say, by getting control of the market by other than economic competitive methods.

IV. On the question of the tariff the Kansas City platform says:

"We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skilfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve, and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear."

The Philadelphia platform, on the same subject, says:

"We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market, competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured, and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any other country. . . . We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce, in return for free foreign markets."

The democratic statement, it must be said, is not an intelligent discussion of the tariff nor even an intelligent impeachment of it. It reveals a veiled intention to destroy the tariff and introduce free trade, but it lacks the courage to say so. Of course Mr. Bryan's party did not dare to openly advocate free trade in the face of the Cleveland experiment and the present prosperity, but this passage reveals all the animus against our protective policy and domestic industries that the Cleveland-Wilson regime openly represented. The Philadelphia statement on this subject is frank and aggressive, and the difference between the two platforms here is simply the difference between free trade and protection.

V. The attitude of the two parties toward labor is an important point of comparison. The Kansas City platform statement is as follows:

"We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees. In the interest of American labor and the uplifting of the workingman as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that congress create a department of labor, in charge of a secretary with a seat in the cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity for our country at home and our commerce abroad."

This is an interesting statement for presidents and secretaries of trade-unions to examine. What does it mean? What concrete propositions for improving labor does it contain? It is opposed to government by injunction and the blacklist; so is nearly everybody. This is another one of those ringing generalities which mean nothing. What does Mr. Bryan propose as a means of abolishing government by injunction and the blacklist? In which of the states where his followers have supreme control has anything been done or even attempted to suppress government by injunction or the blacklist? The only concrete proposition suggested is a department of labor with a seat in the cabinet. What would that do for labor? Intelligent labor men understand the value of such a proposition. It would simply create a political office in the name of labor from which labor would get nothing. There is already a department of labor in the hands of a competent statistician, who is a better friend to labor than any political cabinet officer ever could be expected to be. It will not take any intelligent secretary of a trade-union long to discern that the writer of that plank in the democratic platform had very little knowledge of and less real interest in the actual conditions and progress of the labor movement.

Here is the expression of the Philadelphia platform on that subject:

"In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract, convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance."

This is brief but it says something. First, it definitely favors a more effective restriction of immigration. That is a practical proposition that wage-workers can understand and have long been advocating. Second, it unqualifiedly advocates increased education for factory children and definitely favors raising the age limit for child labor in factories and workshops. This is a most important proposition, one which every trade-union knows how to appreciate.

In all the southern states, which will probably vote solidly for Mr. Bryan, there is not a single law providing education for factory children and hardly any limiting the age at which they shall begin work, while contract convict labor is almost the general rule. This plank also commits the republican party to an effective system of labor insurance, which is one of the most advanced steps ever taken by any great party in this country in behalf of the laboring people. Labor insurance is one of the most important propositions toward eliminating the bugbear of accident and old age from the laborer's experience. The principle of insurance is scientifically demonstrated and tested by experience. The middle class and well-to-do people avail themselves of it, but the workingmen cannot do so, though they are subject to more accidents, enforced idleness and permanent discharge for old age than any class in the community. An effective system of insurance for laborers cannot be



secured by the efforts of individual corporations, because that would act as a tether to laborers, depriving them of the freedom of changing their employers except at the penalty of giving up the insurance. What is needed to be really helpful to the laborer in this respect is a national system of labor insurance that shall cover all industries, with the United States government as treasurer of the funds and distributor of the endowments.

One other thing should be noted in this connection : The labor plank which was approved by President McKinley and really represents the party was in the draft of the platform presented by Hon. Charles Emory Smith, and this draft in addition to the above contained three other important labor propositions; one declaring in favor of a general and gradual reduction of the hours of labor towards uniformity throughout the country, another declaring in favor of the principle of organization for labor on the same terms as capital and guaranteeing it the same rights and privileges before the law, and a third declaring in favor of the suppression of sweatshops in our large cities. These were eliminated, presumably by the wisdom of Mr. Quigg, to the astonishment and disgust of the administration. In reality the Philadelphia platform commits the republican party to six definite labor propositions, which constitutes a remarkably advanced *trade-union platform*, the equal of which has never found its way into any political platforms hitherto promulgated.

## EFFECTS OF TOPOGRAPHY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

JACQUES W. REDWAY, F. R. G. S.

In the development of the affairs of a nation, two processes are usually going on, namely, the acquisition of territory and the adjustment of the people to their local surroundings—that is, to their geographic environment. In most instances the process of adjustment is slow, and nearly always it is accompanied with more or less friction. Now this aspect of national growth is an exceedingly important one, for the friction and difficulty by which a people adapt themselves to their surroundings is only another name for *history*. Moreover, the more quickly a people recognize the fact that their activities both industrial and social must be largely controlled by geographic features—that is, by topographic and climatic conditions—the sooner will discord and adversity give way to harmony and prosperity.

In certain ways one may note the operation of these processes in our own country from the very earliest colonial periods. The Virginians for instance adapted their employments to the conditions they found. Soil, climate, and topography were all splendidly adapted to the prosecution of a new industry, tobacco growing, and as a result there was but little friction until the greed of the English merchants practically destroyed the industry and drove the Virginians into the revolutionary party that was growing and taking shape in the northern colonies. So far as Virginia was concerned, therefore, the war of the revolution was an industrial rather than a political revolution.

In the case of the New England colonies, however, one may readily find an abundance of the friction that

makes history. For nearly one hundred years the people struggled along seemingly unable to discover that the greater part of the land was thoroughly unfit for agriculture; \* and during all this time crops of glacial boulders alternated with harvests of trouble.

The first revolution that swept away this condition of affairs was an industrial revolution, and its exciting cause was a matter of topographic detail, a question of geography, pure and simple. The rugged surface dipping abruptly below the line of sea level had given the coast that indented and fiorded line that makes excellent harbors. Farther south, from Chesapeake Bay down, a level coast plain dips so gently below sea level that a vessel cannot approach the shore unless some buried river bed or other affords a navigable channel; even then, a long line of spits, hooks, and barrier beaches blocks the few navigable estuaries. As a result of these topographic conditions the great industry of sea commerce has been concentrated at the natural harbors of the New England shores.

And when the New Englanders began to recognize these conditions, poverty and adversity began to give way to prosperity. Even the wretched and disgusting theological bickerings were dropped; for a people who are thrifty and prosperous have but little time for quarrels. Because of the geographic conditions noted, commercial interests began to dominate and these were materially aided by another geographic factor—namely, the great belt of white pine just back of the coast. Pines thrive best in a coarse, gravelly soil where there are extremes of climate. And in the case in question the glacial drift furnished the soil, while a moderately high latitude afforded the conditions of climate. Now,

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\*The uplands of the New England states have made but little appreciable growth in the last fifty years; at all events they have not begun to keep pace with the river valleys and lowlands.



as a matter of fact, there is no timber that surpasses white pine for the construction of vessels; and so the New Englanders began to make the ships that sailed out of their harbors. The close of the war of the revolution marked the beginning of a new industrial epoch founded upon the wisest of principles, because in harmony with geographic environment; and the commerce of the sea grew by rapid strides until the canvas of our merchant marine whitened every sea under the sun.

The traditional cow that kicks over her bucket of milk was very much in evidence in the political issues that led to the war of 1812 and never was the bucket more effectively overturned than at this time. With a single stroke of the pen the magnificent fleet was swept off the sea and practically disappeared from view. Even at the end of the present century, ninety per cent. and more of our foreign traffic is carried by foreign vessels. The embargo of 1807, together with the non-intercourse and non-importation acts, no matter how wise the effect intended, proved a clear case of biting off our national nose to spite our national face. The fleet of sailing vessels was destined never again to go out; the old hulks rotting on the mud flats of New Bedford and other New England harbors are mute witnesses of a great national folly.

The industrial chaos resulting scarcely can be imagined. The millions of dollars that had been actively employed in foreign trade were thrown into idleness, and a stagnation of business followed. There was one hopeful feature of momentous importance resulting, however. Up to the time of the various enactments leading to non-intercourse, pretty nearly all the manufactured articles used in this country were imported; indeed, under colonial rule, the manufacture of certain goods in the colonies, or even the importation of the machinery for making them, was an offense

punishable by imprisonment. But when the effects of the embargo act began to settle upon the country, the necessity of home manufactures forced itself in no gentle manner on nearly every community. And here a geographic factor began to obtrude itself. In spite of its now illogical name, manufacture required something more than the energy of hand and brain, and that something was *power*. At this time, moreover, steam had scarcely become a factor in the economic development of the nation; about all the power utilized came from falling water. But water power depends on an abrupt slope, and the New England plateau possesses this feature in a remarkable degree. As a result, the capital that had been forced out of its former employment was reinvested in mills and factories. It is characteristic of the streams of this region that comparatively long stretches of almost slack water are relieved by rapids and cascades. These topographic conditions were most available in the New England plateau. They existed elsewhere in the southern Appalachians, it is true, but in the New England states there was the stimulus of idle capital. Still, not a little enterprise developed in the southern states. In general, a wave of manufacturing impulse swept over the whole country, and companies for the manufacture of textiles were organized not only in the New England states, but in Charleston, Richmond, Baltimore and Philadelphia. The desire for homespun and homemade textiles grew to be a fad and a craze. All sorts of clubs and associations were formed for the purpose of fostering homemade manufactures, and the question became a burning issue in politics. In North Carolina, Vermont, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Connecticut, Virginia and Pennsylvania the members of the various legislative bodies were urged, either by enactment or by public opinion, to appear in garments of homemade material. Industrial parades

and expositions were held, and the newspapers were plethoric with leaders that boomed the superiority of American manufactures, or perhaps with threats leveled at the American woman who should refuse to discard the tawdry trappings of European manufacture.

The importation of merino sheep was the beginning of an important era in the manufacture of textiles. Napoleon's invasion of Spain was followed by the confiscation of many estates, and the famous flocks of merinos in many instances were scattered. For a time our consuls employed themselves with little else than buying fine sheep. Very soon the sheep ranges extended from the White Mountains to Pamlico Sound, and the water-power section of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island became the center of great woolen textile manufactures. But the manufacturing enterprises were not confined to textiles alone ; they grew to include about everything the people needed. There was but a single important exception to the new era of prosperity—namely, the cordwainers and rope-makers ; their trade was gone forever, for there were no vessels to be supplied with rigging.

But the great change in the industries of a people was made ; the idle capital was again employed, and the prosecution of the new industries was in harmony with the conditions imposed by geographic environment. The change of employment brought new and different social conditions. The complications preceding the war of 1812, therefore, resulted in an industrial revolution, and in general it placed a large population on a plane of civilization that was distinctively higher. Granting that the destruction of commerce was wrought in a manner that was bungling, unstatesmanlike, and cruel ; admitting that greed, avarice and lust were underlying factors ; the general results were beneficial.



One can get a grain of comfort, however, in the fact that most revolutions have gone the same way.

By turning back the pages of the economic history of our country, we cannot escape the fact that each of our forward leaps has resulted from an industrial revolution, and that not until our industries were founded and built up so as to be in harmony with the conditions of geographic environment could any great amount of prosperity ensue. The state groups that so long have held their places on the map of the United States are based on something more than convenience and political gerrymandering; their foundation is an economic one and is based on geographic laws. If, for instance, we take the New England plateau, we find there a center of light manufactures of a character that require the highest degree of intellectual and mechanical skill. Doubtless some of these might thrive elsewhere; but, originally located in this region because of the water power, they have remained there because a highly-educated people is able to take advantage of public demands and to seize the opportunity presented.

In the middle and southern Appalachian region we find still another sort of manufacturing enterprise, namely, the making of structural steel; and this industry has a geographic basis. Before the pig-iron can be converted into steel and the latter rolled out into rails, girders, plates and billets, several tons of coal must be used for every ton of metal produced. It is cheaper, therefore, to ship the iron ore to the coal than *vice-versa*; and for this reason the great center of the manufacture of structural iron and steel must be either in or near the coal mines. Granted that other manufacturing enterprises exist in the vicinity of the coal measures, and that certain agricultural products are grown, it becomes apparent with a moment's thought that the

manufacture of iron and steel will always be the fundamental industry of this region.

In the localization of the iron and steel industry geographic environment, it has been shown, has been the dominant factor, and this is strongly illustrated in the establishment of the steel-making center along the shores of the great lakes. Among the chief expenses in the manufacture of pig-iron are the quarrying of the ore and transportation of the product. If in one locality a given amount of labor will quarry a ton of ore, while in another it will produce six or eight tons, there is no question about which miner can afford to sell his product at the lower price. And if one operator can load his ore on barges while another must haul by rail, there is also no doubt as to who can sell the ore at the lower price.

Now, among the older rocks that border Lake Superior there are vast deposits of good iron ore that are so near the lake shore that the ore can be quarried and transferred by chutes into the hold of the vessel for a very small sum per ton; indeed, in places it may almost be blasted from the quarry into the barge. Transportation by water to the shore of Lake Michigan or that of Lake Erie is a small item compared with the cost of railroading, and so the ore is conveyed to its destination by freight steamships and barges. At the lower lake shore it meets the coal brought by canal barges from the interior, and, as a result, enormous steel-making plants have grown up at Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland, Lorain and Buffalo, where the "lines of least resistance" meet. Because of the development of a new line of industries, a new social economy is resulting; and this, as one cannot help seeing, is a result of topographic conditions.

## ARE WE A GOTHIC OR MIXED RACE? III.\*

MOULTON EMERY

The settlers of South Carolina, from their reports, evidently knew a good country when they saw it. It is pleasing to the eye. Evergreen trees that no wintry blast can disrobe of their foliage meet the gaze on every hand. Gigantic pines ever sing a lullaby to restless souls. Grand oaks, tall hickories, stately sycamores, shapely elms and beautiful magnolias never fail to awaken the admiration of the traveller. In the spring the jasmine, the cherokee rose, and shrubs of every variety perfume the air. Further inland, hills with gentle slopes and majestic crowns of forest diversify the scenery. Game of every kind awaits the sportsman's gun. The merry, joyous mocking-bird, the happy rollicking bobolink and the cheery piping partridge charm the ear, and the most toothsome fish that swim the waters swarm in her rivers; while over all and pervading all is the glorious sunshine beguiling the dreamer into dreams and dispelling care and poverty in the mere luxury of living. The people thrive as no people ever thrived before. Opulence was everywhere and luxury was general throughout the low country. The broad marshes were covered with horses, the woods were full of cattle munching the juicy cane, the swamps were alive with hogs feasting on acorns, and the barns were bursting with maize and fodder, rice, cotton and

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\* Mr. Emery's series of articles on the racial origin and composition of the people of the United States began in our June number and will be concluded next month. Among the authorities to which he refers in support of his data are Froude, Green, Macaulay, Buckle, Bancroft, Palfrey, Hewitt, Ramsay, Baird, and the United States Census Reports of 1890.



indigo, while the joyous song and shout of the negroes as they herded the cattle or called the hogs echoed and reechoed throughout the land.

This colony exported more than all the other colonies put together. But, with unbridled power to dominate an inferior race, under a warm sun where the blood flows hot and fast, and where the determination, of necessity, to rule always develops the worst passions in man, the slow-tempered puritan became an autocrat, a despot, impatient of contradiction, overbearing in manner, and arrogant in intercourse. It could not possibly have been otherwise. That the master should become the slave of his own temper to rule or to ruin was the natural outcome of slavery, for there is a law of reflex action in society between man and man as in the individual between mind and body. And yet this peculiar impulsive temper served the colonies well in their struggle for independence. South Carolina had no grievance against the mother country. Between them the happiest of relations existed. She was bound to England by the strongest ties of race, religion and commerce. It was there her great staples, rice, cotton and indigo, found their readiest market, and there her leading men had been educated. She had everything to lose and nothing to gain by rebelling against constituted authority; and, considering the hazy notions of the rights of man then prevailing, it was most singular that she should do so. Her interests all lay in the vales of peace where her great staples might be grown and in the marts of commerce where they might be turned into ready money. What to her was the paltry tax which England sought to impose? At most it was only an abstract proposition without any concrete reality whatever. She was rich and she could have paid it without feeling it, and doubtless, had she been the only colony affected, would have made no re-

sistance to it. The doctrine of no taxation without representation was born not of wealth, but of poverty, and fortunately for the cause of American liberty New England was not rolling in luxury. But it matters not what may have been her motives, whether maxims in government, or sympathy with men of the same blood, having homes in the same wilderness, South Carolina never hesitated a moment when her sister colonies cried for help, though to break with George the Third was to invite all the horrors of guerilla warfare from the partisans of royalty. Her loyalty to the cause of American independence gave to the infant republic two states at least and the great South-West, if indeed it was not decisive of the struggle itself.

Georgia, the youngest of the colonies, received fewer Celts than South Carolina. One hundred and ten Scotch Highlanders settled on the southern frontier on the Altamaha. At the outset quite a number of Germans and Moravians found a home there, but the bulk of her population could not have been other than English, for the same influences were at work in England and Ireland as had peopled the other colonies with immigrants from those countries.

Nothing is clearer than the fact that the character of the immigration to the colonies down to 1790 was mainly English, and overwhelmingly Gothic. Gothic England, Gothic Scotland, Gothic Ireland, Gothic Scandinavia, Gothic Holland, and Gothic Germany furnished the emigrants that laid the foundations of the great American nation.

Indeed, for two-thirds of a century after the landing at Jamestown scarce a soul other than pure, unadulterated English had come to New England, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, and few other than pure, unadulterated Dutch had come to New York. North Carolina as yet had no existence ; a few families from Vir-

ginia had settled on the Chowan river. South Carolina had not a single white man within her borders, and Pennsylvania was but a dream in the mind of William Penn. The subsequent arrivals of small bands of French and of Highland Scotch were always noted because so unusual. They generally settled by themselves and kept isolated from the great body of the colonists. They could have formed but a small fraction of the population. But the steady rush of immigrants from England and Ireland was never remarked because always regarded as the natural course of events. England and Ireland were the countries where religious persecution was the fiercest and from them came the puritans and Presbyterians, the men who so quickly populated Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

It is but a fair conclusion from historical data that the United States, down to 1790 at least, was in blood thirty-six-fortieths English, three-fortieths Scandinavian and Germanic, and one-fortieth Celtic.

It is estimated by the best authorities that 250,000 immigrants came over between 1790 and 1820 and in all probability nine-twentieths of them were English, Irish-English, and Scotch-English blood, nine-twentieths of Scandinavian and Germanic, and two-twentieths of Celtic. During that period the same conditions affecting emigration continued to prevail as before. Indeed, they were intensified. All Europe was engaged in warfare. No matter how great was the desire of the Celt to escape from its burdens it was next to impossible so to do. Napoleon was riding roughshod over the continent and the French were never allowed to escape his levies, if indeed they so desired. Apparently they were only too happy to follow his banner. The immigration of necessity must have been almost wholly Gothic. The ports of northern Europe alone were open to commerce.



The ships that floated the products of the world in those days were the English and the American and both were practically shut out from Celtic ports by Napoleon until his downfall.

In 1820 immigration began in earnest. During the first four decades Gothic immigrants outnumbered the Celtic two to one. Discarding the Chinese, Japanese, and the Malay races of the Pacific, as unassimilable and undesirable elements eventually to be thrown off or to remain as an unsightly excrescence, this country has received in immigration from 1790 down to 1890 15,815,668 souls.

Counting, according to the judgment of the writer on the best evidence attainable, the arrivals between 1790 and 1820 as nine-tenths Gothic and one-tenth Celtic; and the subsequent arrivals down to 1890, from Scotland as two-thirds Gothic and one-third Celtic, from Ireland as one-third Gothic and two-thirds Celtic, from Switzerland and British America as each one-half Gothic and one-half Celtic; and from northern Europe through Canada from 1885 to 1890 as three-quarters Gothic and one-quarter Celtic, and from the West Indies as one-third Gothic and two-third Celtic, there came 11,030,839 Goths, 4,276,748 Celts, and 508,081 Slavs, including the Jews of Russia and the Magyars of Hungary among the latter, though of races different from it. According to the above estimates of the proportion of Goths and Celts, the division of this immigration by countries would be as follows:



have received little if any accessions from any quarter except through the slave trade, which must have been slight. In one hundred years they increased 9.93 times. Calculating the increase of the colonial whites during the same period at the same rate, we have 31,550,162, leaving 23,433,728 as the gain from immigration.

We have from natural increase of population since 1790, according to the proportions already stated, 28,395,146 persons of English blood, 2,366,262 of Scandinavian and Germanic, and 788,754 of Celtic.

The excess of Gothic immigration over Celtic and Slavic together entitles the former to seven-tenths of the total gain (16,403,609), and the latter to three-tenths of it (7,030,119).

Of the Gothic increase from immigration, two-fifths, 6,561,444 were of English descent, and three-fifths, 9,842,165 were of Scandinavian and Germanic.

We thus arrive at the following summary:

Increase of colonial English,	28,395,146
Increase of immigration English,	6,561,444
Total,	34,956,590
Increase of colonial Scandinavians and Germans,	2,366,262
Increase of immigration Scandinavians and Germans,	9,842,165
Total,	12,208,427
Increase of colonial Celts,	788,754
Increase of immigration Celts and Slavs,	7,030,119
Total,	7,818,873
Total population of English blood, 1890,	34,956,590
Total population of Scandinavian and German blood, 1890,	12,208,427
Total Celtic and Slavic, 1890,	7,818,873
Total white population of United States,	
1890,	54,983,890



The Roman Catholic population of this country is a good guide to a correct estimate of the Celtic and Slavic. Not that all Celts are papists, nor that all Goths are protestants. Colonial Celts are protestants and so are the Welsh, and as a rule the Highland Scotch. On the other hand, South Germany is largely papal. Austria is wholly so, having contributed 251,299 with their increase to swell our population. According to the last United States census the papal population of the country was 6,250,045, not including baptized children below nine years of age. Papists claim that these children constitute about 15 per cent. of the entire Roman Catholic church. Giving them the benefit of this they have 7,352,994. Adding to the papal column the increase of the colonial Celts, 788,754, we have 8,141,748. Adding also the protestant Welsh and Highland Scotch, who must be comparatively few, and deducting the papal Germans, in number overwhelmingly superior to the former, we shall find that the figures are far below the writer's estimate of the Celtic and Slavic population of this country.

In round numbers, then, the United States in 1890 had a population of 35,000,000 of English descent, 12,000,000 of Scandinavian and German, and 8,000,000 of Celtic, Slavic, and Semitic, or, which is the same thing, their equivalent in racial blood; the English being to all other nationalities as 7 to 4, and the Gothic race to all other races as 6 to 1. We are indeed as much a nation as Germany, France, Spain or Italy, and more so in some respects. France also has a large foreign population composed of Jews, Germans and Italians, aside from her original mixture of Gallic and Germanic blood, but she is none the less a nation. If physical characteristics alone are to determine the question, the blue eyes and light hair of Normandy and Lombardy Goths would exclude France and Italy from the list of nations.

## CHRISTENDOM'S UNITY AND PERIL

LEONORA B. HALSTED

The dramatic unity of the events that have occurred in the last three years is replete with significance. Bettine says, God is a great artist and causes actions to be born from our breasts with untold suffering but surpassing joy that a new life has come into the world. It is easy to see God in history when one looks back far enough to get perspective. He sets the stage and is man's infallible prompter. We do ill or well in our little hour and the results remain. The present also has its divine outlines if we can clear our minds sufficiently from the whirl and passion to see them.

The prelude might be called antagonisms revealed. First was the Venezuela episode that showed our traditional distrust of England, met by her ready acquiescence in our demands and her sorrowful amazement at the alienation shown. Linked with this was the antipathy shown by England for Germany, who championed the Boers at a critical moment. She evinced the same hot temper towards Germany that we had towards her. The Franco-Russian alliance as against England at any rate and possibly against Germany had been recognized already. Meanwhile in the Orient deep notes of warning were heard. The piercing of the Chinese bulk by the Japanese rapier and the startling rise of the latter power to importance had stirred the world. So a smothered unrest, clashing interests, perturbations of life where before there had been deathlike inertia, gave the prelude its minor key.

Then the curtain rose on our own soil set for the first act. Our nation had been isolated, shut up in measure-

less content with her own development and comfort, but now she was harassed by the suffering in Cuba until she could no longer endure it. She took a step across the threshold that can never be retraced, and stood in noble erectness the champion in behalf of humanity. The contest that followed was one of the most amply justified wars in history; an altruistic war, perhaps the first; a war for principle if ever there was one. By this action America found herself no longer even seemingly isolated. Promptly came the thunderclap of recognition from Manila and she was in tingling relations to other countries from West to East, all around the world. In an article full of profound suggestion Mahan says: "Failure to dare greatly is often to run the greatest of risks." Dewey dared magnificently and the country was led by him. We found ourselves at the doors of Asia and with an amazing right-about-face of intention to which we as a people have been reluctantly dragged, but it is God who is marching on.

Some there were of prophetic vision who were aflame for the carrying of our principles loftily, a banner before the eyes of the world. Commerce is the method of making the ideas of a nation known, it is the vehicle of principles. To extend our commerce, to uphold it and the standard of living it reveals, is to set the republic in a light that will make it understood; feared first, perhaps, then respected, and then, may we not hope? loved. But commerce breeds a softness and laxity that is dangerously fertile to corruption, and there comes a time when the rigorous discipline of war is needed, that shows wealth it has but the value of smoke, and life itself is but the value of what it will die for. The ideals of manhood are made plain,—liberty, humanity, betterment. For industrial development is not the whole of man. He is greater than any part or



phase and all phases are swept forward now and then in an irresistible world-movement.

Yet,

“What times are little? To the sentinel

“That hour is regal when he mounts on guard.”

By the Spanish war we mounted on guard. Our nation has become one of the trustees of civilization for humanity. We paid twenty millions not that we might gain the Philippines, land or people, but that we might save them from anarchy and lead them to law and liberty. Duty, not aggrandizement, altruism, not egotism, was our motive power; and, as Senator Lodge says, though the issue of ratifying the peace treaty was doubtful until the last moment, even while the vote was being taken, then it was seen that all along the result had been inevitable. It is our work that has been set us to do, a work to which we were obliged to put our hands despite reluctance and protests, a work bravely done with awful blunders and needless suffering and woe, but with triumph after all, and a magnanimous triumph. We need not be ashamed, though through war we found out our weakness, our sins, our incapacities, for we set energetically to work to reform them.

“The reward of a duty accomplished is the power to fulfil another.” So ahead are vast responsibilities; but we are strong and young and sturdy; we shall not shirk them, and after all the deepest feeling of the Anglo-Saxon is responsibility to God:

“The shouting and the tumult dies,

“The captains and the kings depart;

“Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,

“An humble and a contrite heart.”

Now the scene shifts to Africa and the Boer war. The issue is not so clear there as in the Spanish war, for each side has rights that can claim support from reasonable people. The Boers love independence and

are willing to risk all for it, but the English have the larger right, for their dominant note is that of the Anglo-Saxon race—progress in civilization. No nation can stand still, however insignificant or out of the way. If it will not move forward in harmony with the life of the world it must be beaten like the Spanish and see its unused talent pass into wiser hands, or it must be reformed on new lines as the Boers will be undoubtedly, for there is sound stuff in them. Some one says that the difference between a Hindoo and a Yankee is that, while both want to do nothing themselves, the former is indifferent to anything being done, while the latter recognizes that work must be accomplished and so invents machinery to do it for him. The Boers seem to be more of the Hindoo type, and when left to themselves are capable of being spurred to effort only by the greatest incentives. Besides, the principle of the consent of the governed is run into the ground with them and made to apply to every detail, so that even in the midst of battle, when they no longer approve individually of the orders given, they are liable to relapse into disintegrated parts. This cannot last at a time like the present, when the world is coming to appreciate more fully the value of integration, of combination, of federation. The social whole is greater than any of its parts and these parts really derive their very existence, as the Boers are proving, from the larger life. It is significant of the meaning in this war that it has brought about a practical federation of English colonies. It disclosed to England and the world a startling array of faults, both in her system and her character, but it showed also her strength and her importance to the race. In opposition are the two sides: the Boers exemplify individuality and the right of each man to live his own life his own way regardless of the rest of the world or of what he accomplishes ; the English illustrate the power

of cohesion and of recognized responsibility for the use to which they put their talents. Of course it is easy to see the shadows and to magnify the spots until they put out the sun, but shadows and sunspots mean light as a primary condition, and the light of the English is that wherever they go they carry law and liberty. It was plain from the first that England must win, not not alone because of her greater strength which might have been offset by allies, but because of what defeat would mean to each. To the Boers it means English civilization, for England can give naught else ; to the English it would have meant incalculable calamity that might have involved the world.

By this war England came into changed relations with other nations somewhat as America did through the Spanish war. That widened our vision in a thousand ways, and in no way of more consequence than in our new appreciation of England. She proved herself our friend and we could no longer cherish a traditional antagonism that failed to meet present facts. Moreover, similarity of experience, new to us but old to her, made us more charitable in judgment. How mercilessly we should have condemned her blunders if we had not made so many ! How unfairly we should have judged her expansion if we had not already expanded, reluctantly but unavoidably ! We had been brought to see that we were necessarily friends, for we have the same ideals and, in large outlines, the same methods, and now the issues were the same for both countries. These little wars caused a rounding-up of our national resources and prepared our minds for world-wide interests. Germany, too, the remaining branch of our race, had to decide that at least she would not antagonize England nor uphold her enemies. France, on the other hand, after Fashoda, threw herself more passionately into the line against England, while Russia pushed for-



ward feverishly in Asia to take advantage of England's preoccupation in Africa.

Two stories have been recently printed, one by Stephen Crane, the other by Kipling. They deal with the same subject, the contrast of the regular and volunteer service. Curiously enough the American's writing was published in an English periodical and the Englishman's in an American magazine. Kipling showed the fatuity of the regular officer stultified in his code, compared with the resourceful volunteer. Crane depicted the power of discipline and of military knowledge to bring even the most recalcitrant volunteer to admiration. The telling of these tales in this way shows the transfusion of experience we and the English are undergoing. It is what will be common property of larger groups presently as is already foreshadowed.

Now comes the third act. The immense development of Russia has gone on unrelenting and hastening to its utmost power. The average per capita earnings of the Russians a few years ago were four cents a day. This meant sheepskin clothing, foul dwellings, ignorance, superstition, stolidity. Imagine such people transplanted from the ground in which they were almost rooted to work on the trans-Siberian railway, to be disciplined as soldiers and set to guard the immensely prolonged frontier, coming in contact with varied peoples and earning and learning more and more. Northern Asia has been grasped firmly by the long steel fingers, and we of America know what it means to have a railway traverse formerly trackless wastes. It employs not only men but their minds, carrying their thoughts to the end and suggesting whys and wherefores that stir from apathy.

The Anglo-Saxon is not the sole civilizing race. The Slav is making good his claim to be considered a

helper of mankind. In a recent article Mr. Ford gives some striking instances of what Russia has already done. "Russia has moved southward," he says, "forcing civilization and peace upon ten million of the most savage and predatory people the world has ever known. Millions of rubles have been spent on vast irrigating works, until much of what was once desert to-day blossoms like a veritable garden. Where roving hordes of Kirghiz and savage cutthroats roamed at will, peaceful herdsmen now tend their flocks, and millions of horses run wild. The vast population frightened from these plains that were once the center of the world's civilization, finding peace and security under Russian rule, has returned. . . . Manchuria is now riddled with railroads along the lines of which Russian villages are springing up, Russian peasants are sowing their crops, and everywhere the workshop and factory are making their appearance. . . . Confident that the Anglo-Saxon race has seen the apex of its glory, the Slav believes he is to rise to the position of world-power with the twentieth century. He admits but one rival, the nation whose friendship he has courted from its inception—America." This Slavic movement has been outlined for decades but pushed to fullness of meaning only in the last few years. We have almost wholly disregarded it, but it is an act of incalculable significance, for is it proven that any race could do better work for Asia than the Russian? If not, then Russia will succeed; the undeviating consistency of her march towards the end she has set herself being resistless save by a higher principle.

It is possible that this higher principle may be carried by Japan. Her force is trivial compared to Russia's but she is of a race kindred to the Chinese, yet with renewed life and vigor. Her resurrection has been a romance of history and Fenollosa shows that she is peculiarly fitted for the work of creating a Young

China that would arouse the most ancient of kingdoms to the life of to-day. Russia robbed her of the fruits of victory and there has been jealousy between them ever since, but the very meaning of her weakness to stand alone against Russia may be that thus allies are needed so that distant countries are drawn in, for it is a world problem of infinite moment. Fenollosa says, in his stirring and profound article that reads to-day like news from the Orient though it was printed two years ago (*Harper's Monthly*, Dec. '98): "This fusion of the East and the West is to be not only world-wide but final. The future historian will look back upon our crisis as the most breathless in human annals. . . . If war and markets were not the pioneers of true culture, they would offer us but a shallow ambition. . . . It is only the conservation and expansion of the world's choicest ideals that can justify and save it. . . . It is how types of manhood will fuse that challenges our anxiety," and he adds, that "the gallant islanders (Japanese) are the only possible mediators between Asian thought and the thought of the West."

Now comes the tragedy at Peking, of which one shudders to think. Yet through the horror of thick darkness the good is already visible; the Christian world can no longer be indifferent to China. Our interest is made painfully acute by the anguish of suspense. Some years ago it was predicted that the next great war would be a war of religion, and already the papers are full of talk about the "Christian forces" in China, and, it is added grimly, if they don't like Christians let them take the Japanese. In the meantime our common indignation against a heathen and alien people of gigantic size is subordinating all the lesser enmities of Franco-Prussian and Anglo-Russian and all the rest of the European feuds, as well as the antipathy of Europe for America and the white race for the yellow, to a mighty



common cause, which is nothing less than Christianity and civilization.

We are amazed now to find that China has been training for resistance since the Japanese war; that she has supplied herself with weapons and dares to use them, and the significance of this cannot be exaggerated. Once give her people courage, discipline, leaders and unity of purpose, and she may go incalculably far. But if it be the war of the ages on which we are entering, as the fourth great act, the supreme reconciliation will follow, with each part of the world in touch with every other and the current of civilization running free from America to Asia, from Europe to Asia and Africa and back. The twin forces will surely triumph, even over ourselves to the very hoodlums of the disgraced city of St. Louis. For the reaction will be as mighty as the action. If we enforce Christianity and civilization, they will reenforce us. As England's colonial civil service purified home politics, so will Christianity and civilization, fought for afar, grow dearer to us near. Starvation and wounds and death may abound, but something greater than these will remain. Security and progress are incompatible; the greater the power the greater the peril; and it is not stagnation but progress that humanity demands. It is a vital age in which we live, and there is a sense of elation in feeling the strength of the current that bears us forward, while at the end of the widening vistas great issues are seen dimly, radiantly, through the opening and closing storm-clouds. The latter are for the moment only; the radiance of possibilities is for all time.

In "A Desert Drama" Conan Doyle pictures a number of travelers of various nationalities being taken prisoners by the Mohammedan Bedouins and offered their choice between death and recantation of Christianity. Every one prefers death. Even the Parisian

fop says: "On the boulevard I should disdain to call myself a Christian; here I would rather die than call myself anything else." Such stories are parables. The essentials of our faith, common to all creeds, and the civilization built upon it will shine the clearer when we fight for them. We are rich and powerful, inventive and shrewd. We have developed to the utmost the means of accomplishing what we desire. When we stand shoulder to shoulder, Europe and America and people from the islands of the sea, determined to convince all, and ourselves not least, of the value of that for which we live and die, then we shall approach nearer that "far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves,"—the majestic fifth act wherein God's ways are justified to man.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE DECISION of the administration to limit its co-operation with European powers to protection of the interests and demanding of adequate reparation for the outrages perpetrated is good American policy. We want no part in any territorial division of China, but only equal trade rights. Our declaration to that effect is another evidence to the world that the United States is not out for conquest, even when that is easy. If this policy is carried out it will establish the fact that we are truly a peaceful industrial and not a military nation.

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MUCH AS IT dislikes McKinley and hates protection, the *Boston Herald* has finally decided that Bryan's election would be scarcely less disastrous to the nation now than it would have been in 1896, and, therefore, that the only rational course open to it is to help elect McKinley for another term. To arrive at this conclusion has doubtless made our mugwump contemporary sweat hot-drops, but it has redeemed its sanity. The *Springfield Republican*, New York *Evening Post*, and that class of sound-money journals will have to do likewise unless they wish to be classed with Schurz and Atkinson as unpatriotic fanatics.

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THE PRESIDENT has called a special conference with the governors of Cuba and Porto Rico for the purpose, it is said, of planning immediate steps to give the government of Cuba over to Cubans and organize practical home rule in Porto Rico. If this proves feasible it will complete the most remarkable step in favor of freedom ever taken by a conquering nation. Never before was such generosity shown by a strong nation to a



weak. Such action will place the United States pre-eminently above any and all other nations as a genuine friend of freedom. It will conclusively establish the integrity of our declarations that we will go to war only in the interest of peace, industry and freedom.

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IN A RECENT effort to find relief for his pent-up bitterness against everything American, Mr. Godkin, the soured ex-editor of the *Evening Post*, delivers himself thus, in the *New York Journal*, regarding the men who immediately surround President McKinley, who, of course, are the members of his cabinet: "My opinion of them, formed long ago, is that they are the most dangerous set of scoundrels by which any civilized country was ever beset." Happily for the American people, Godkin's "opinion" is of no value. When he could dominate the editorial utterances of the paper made strong and popular by William Cullen Bryant his malignant utterances were dangerous, but now they are merely bitter and nobody cares.

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BY WAY OF justifying its support of Bryan in 1900, the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* says: "In some important respects the William J. Bryan of to-day differs materially from the William J. Bryan of 1896. He is a man of wider knowledge, of broader views, of developed character and greater abilities."

The *Plain-Dealer* should have accompanied this statement with specifications. In what respect does he show "wider knowledge" or "broader views" or "greater abilities"? In his talk on economic questions, for example on large corporations, he is as narrow and fanatical as he was in 1896. His discussion of these subjects is neither broad, economic nor able. He shows a marked lack of "wide knowledge" of the economic forces that pervade the nation. On the money question

he has learned absolutely nothing. He repeats with the same assurance the bald absurdities he uttered in 1896, as if nothing had occurred since. To demand free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16-to-1 by this nation alone, with silver at sixty-one cents per ounce (46 cents in the dollar), in the belief that it would restore parity between the two metals without throwing the nation into untold disaster, shows neither "wider knowledge" nor "broader views" but rather proves an intensified fanaticism. With all respect, we ask for specifications.

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DAVID B. HILL is in a peck of trouble. He thinks he is a martyr, but he is really reaping the natural rewards of his own conduct. He has more ability than Croker, but fewer friends. He is too cunning to be frank and too selfish to be true; he tries to play the statesman with politician methods and the result is that he is only a mongrel. He has neither the character of the statesman nor the good fellowship and the loyalty of the politician. He has a certain kind of courage but it is the audacity of the headsman and not the courage of the statesman. He had the audacity to pardon the criminal who stole election returns, and to defend Judge Maynard's scandalous part in the crime, but he lacked the courage to stand by his convictions in 1896, and in Kansas City he got his full reward. He is anxious to be prominent in the party councils but nobody trusts him. He was called a skulker and forced to defend his loyalty by declaring that he voted for Bryan, income tax, and 16-to-1 in 1896. Then, in order to reinstate himself, he further trampled on his convictions, if he has any, and again endorsed the 16-to-1 proposition by vehemently seconding Bryan's nomination after the platform had been adopted.

In the long run wriggling brings its own reward.

In trying to be everything Mr. Hill has failed to be anything. The Bryanites distrust him, the Crokerites oppose him, the goldites desert him, and the American people have no use for him.

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AND NOW William Waldorf Astor is having his troubles in England. This country, which gave him his fortune, was not aristocratic enough for him and he sought to become English blue-blood by purchase. After acquiring control of a London newspaper he became a naturalized English citizen and imagined himself a full-blown English aristocrat. But the very narrowness which led him to take this step soon showed itself in his ill-breeding. It appears that at a recent reception at Mr. Astor's house, a certain Captain Sir Berkeley Milne accompanied one of Mr. Astor's guests, unbidden by Mr. Astor. In order to show that his blood was getting blue very fast Mr. Astor ordered Captain Milne out of his house. Despite the fact that on the following day Captain Milne wrote a personal letter to Mr. Astor, apologizing, the offended millionaire advertised the fact in his paper the next evening. In London this is regarded as so ungentlemanly that it was laid before the Prince of Wales, who is the final arbiter of etiquette in London society, and the Prince has cut Mr. Astor from his list, which means that the rest of London "society" will do likewise. Just what Mr. Astor will do next to rise in the social scale is not clear. Perhaps he will become an Irishman or else emigrate to South Africa where he might soon become one of the ancient families. Whithersoever he goes next it is obvious that America lost nothing by his going from here.

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IT IS a truth that will bear indefinite repetition that the growth and diversification of industry develops



and diversifies intelligent opinion in the community. Diversified manufacture in the South is beginning to show its effect upon southern political opinion. When southern industry was mainly raising corn and cotton there was but one political opinion. This tradition is rapidly breaking and new ideas born of new industrial interests are rapidly finding expression. Laborers are organizing for shorter hours and improved conditions, and business men are asking why they should support free trade and free silver when protection and sound money are the basis of their industrial prosperity.

As a note of this growing opinion the *Observer*, Charlotte, N. C., one of the most influential papers in the South, has announced its intention to oppose the election of Mr. Bryan. The interests of the South, according to the *Observer*, are no longer in rag currency and forty-five cent coin, nor in the introduction of free trade. While the *Observer* has not reached the point of supporting the other candidate, its protest against Bryan and the business disturbing doctrine he represents is evidence of real progress. A few years more of sound money and business prosperity and the "Solid South" will be a thing of the past. Give the South prosperous business diversity and the rest is vouchsafed.

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IN 1896 the American people fully realized that Bryan's election would put the nation on a silver basis and they crossed party lines to avert the disaster. The passage of the gold standard act is believed by many to have entirely removed this danger. True, it has removed the danger in the specific form of the president paying our national obligations in "coin" (silver), but the danger now exists in another form. Exclusive of New York, Mr. Bryan cannot expect to be elected without carrying Colorado, Maryland, Idaho,

Wyoming, West Virginia, South Dakota, Oregon, Nebraska, Montana, Kentucky, Kansas, and at least the equivalent of New Jersey. He would even then lack eight votes of election. A United States senator is to be elected this winter in each of these states, all of which now have republican representatives in the senate. If Mr. Bryan should carry these states the legislatures would in all probability be democratic and elect silver senators. To supersede these twelve gold standard senators by silver standard senators would wipe out the present gold majority of about twenty and give us a silver senate. The election of Bryan would be sure to carry with it a majority in the house of representatives, and thus ensure a majority in both houses in favor of silver, in which case short work would be made of the new gold standard act. The mere knowledge of this fact would act upon the industrial and financial conditions of the country with as much disaster as did the election of Cleveland in 1892. We should have a panic and probably a protracted industrial depression, the peer of anything yet seen, and it would be on before Christmas. Those, therefore, who think that the election of Bryan cannot disturb the money question are living in a fool's paradise.

## SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK CITY

CHARLES BURR TODD

The "university" settlements and "college" settlements in New York city are identical in principles and methods, the only difference being that the college settlements are conducted by women and the university by men.

Up to 1850 mission work among the poor and ignorant, as well as with the "submerged tenth," was conducted on a sentimental basis. It consisted largely in gathering the pupils into classes and teaching them the catechism, the thirty-nine articles, or the Westminster confession of faith, as the case might be, and gave little heed to their social condition and needs.

But about 1850 more of the humanitarian spirit was breathed into Christian churches and the social uplifting and physical well-being of their beneficiaries began to be felt of as equal importance with the preaching of the gospel—and logically, for with Christ physical regeneration came before homilies.

From this moment the settlement idea had its birth. "What is the settlement idea?" some may ask. Stated succinctly, it is to dwell among the poor as their friend, equal and companion; to learn by actual contact their joys, sorrows, grievances, wrongs, disabilities, their thoughts and feelings toward those more fortunately placed, to work for them from down up, from within out. To quote from the report of Mr. James B. Reynolds, head worker of the University Settlement, in regard to its work:

"It provides educational and social privileges in the settlement house for children, young people and



adults. It undertakes through its residents careful and scientific investigation of the social, moral and civic conditions of the lower east side. It works to advance those more comprehensive and fundamental measures of reform which affect the conditions of the district as a whole, and so to promote through cooperation with the public authorities and the various civic and philanthropic organizations, all civic, educational and moral influences which may modify the entire life of the district, and not merely that of the few thousands who avail themselves of the privileges of the settlement house."

Such is the settlement idea,—if rightly directed, destined to become a factor of most tremendous force in the regeneration of our cities.

The original settlement, the oldest in America, is the University Settlement at 184 Eldridge Street, on the lower east side. It was founded in 1887 as the Neighborhood Guild, and incorporated under its present name in 1892. It is the only settlement having a model house built by itself after its own plans. For this and other reasons we will describe its practical workings in detail, with the statement that they differ but little from those of other settlements hereinafter named.

Its objects, as stated in the certificate of incorporation, are "to bring men and women of education into closer relations with the laboring classes in this city for their mutual benefit, and to establish and maintain in the tenement-house districts places of residence for college men and others desirous of aiding in the work; with rooms where the people of the neighborhood may meet for social and educational purposes."

It is managed by college graduates, and theoretically its work is carried on by college men, either graduates or undergraduates, although in practice this rule

is not very rigidly enforced. Its president is Hon. Seth Low, and its council is composed of such well-known philanthropists and educators as Stephen H. Olin, R. R. Bowker, F. H. Giddings, Richard Watson Gilder, Frank J. Goodnow, Rollin H. Lynde, V. Everit Macy, Edward H. Peaslee, Amos R. E. Pinchot, Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr., William M. Sloane, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Henry W. Taft and Henry P. Wertheim. Seymour L. Cromwell is secretary and James Speyer treasurer. Its members are of four classes,—fellows, who pay one hundred dollars dues per year; associates, who pay twenty-five, and members, who pay five. Any one of them by paying into the treasury five thousand dollars becomes a founder. There is a head worker who, with an assistant, has the entire superintendency of the work, and eight resident workers who reside in the settlement house, but pay for their board and other expenses, their work being purely gratuitous. There is also a woman's auxiliary and a large corps of volunteer workers.

The settlement house is of pressed brick, simple and tasteful in design, fireproof, with the most approved sanitary appliances, and cost with the lot about \$161,000. It comprises a gymnasium, bath-rooms, play-rooms, recitation-rooms, a sewing-room, kitchen, where cooking lessons are given, club-rooms, several small halls and a large assembly hall for public meetings, where plays may be acted, and which also accommodates the dancing classes.

The varied activities of the settlement are shown by the following schedule of clubs, classes and associations meeting daily within its building:

*Monday.*—Penny provident bank, open from 3 to 4.30 for opening account; each new depositor must deposit at least one penny. Mayflower club, for girls about thirteen years of age; they are taught simple garment-making and have reading aloud

during the afternoon. Girls' gymnasium, for girls over sixteen years of age; apparatus work in gymnasium. Shaftsbury club, for boys over fourteen years; debating and general improvement. Nathan Hale history club, 4 P. M. Manhattan law club, for young lawyers and law students. Improvement club, for girls over eighteen years; they practise embroidery, have occasional cooking lessons and lectures, and meet for social purposes. Literature class, for young men and women, meets in council room at 8 P. M. Amalgamated Shirt Workers' Association; meets in Assembly Hall. People's orchestra, meets in small hall at 8 P. M.

*Tuesday.*—Order club, boys of from eight to twelve years; meets in gymnasium from 3.30 to 4.30 P. M., for gymnasium exercises, and in social room for business meeting from 4.30 to 5.30. Vigilant club, with the same objects, for boys of from twelve to fourteen years. Penny provident bank, from 3 to 5 P. M. in guild hall. Needle and thread club, sewing club for girls from twelve to fourteen years, 3.30 to 5.30 P. M. Cooking class, for girls over twelve years, in kitchen, 3.30 to 5.30 P. M. Cooking class for girls over sixteen years, 7.30 to 9.30. Dramatic class, meets for rehearsals at 8.30 P. M. Seidl orchestra meets in guild hall, 8 P. M. Sons of Liberty, for boys from twelve to fourteen years; study of American prominent men, 7.30 to 9.30. Boys gymnasium, for boys over sixteen years, 8 to 10 P. M. Popular lectures, given under auspices of board of education; all are welcome. Central Federated Union, miscellaneous section, meeting in small hall.

*Wednesday.*—Girls' gymnasium, from 4 to 5.30 P. M. Singing class, for children, 3.00 P. M., in room 8. Daisy chain club, for girls from twelve to thirteen years; business meeting 3.30 P. M., gymnasium 4 P. M. Men's gymnasium, 8 to 10 P. M. Holt choral class, practice class for young men and women, 8 to



10.30 P. M., in guild hall. Needle-work class in embroidery, for young women, 8 to 10 P. M. Outward club; a men's club which interests itself in neighborhood affairs, having a speaker and a discussion, with a "smoker" one evening in the month, 8 to 10.30 P. M. Dolly Madison club, for girls over seventeen years; a social and literary club, 8 to 10 P. M. Cooking class, for girls over sixteen years, 7.30 to 9.30. Central Federated Union; building trade section, meeting in small hall.

*Thursday.*—Kindergarten club, for children who have graduated from the kindergarten into the public schools, 3.30 to 4.30 P. M. Girls' gymnasium; evening class that meets on Monday. Animal protective league, 3.30 to 5.30 P. M. Charter history club, one of the city history clubs, 8 to 10 P. M., for boys over thirteen years. Whist club, of about twenty-five young men and women who meet once a week to play whist. Concerts; furnished through the courtesy of Mrs. Nicholas Fish on the evenings of the first and third Thursdays of each month during the winter months, in assembly hall at 8.30 P. M. Guild committee, meets on the second Thursday of each month in the committee room. Guild sociable, given by a different guild club on the last Thursday of every month.

*Friday.*—Order club, vigilant club, and penny provident bank; same as on Monday. Kipling literary circle; literary and social, from 8 to 9 P. M. Neighborhood civic club, for young men over eighteen; purpose, social and civic, 8 to 10.30 P. M. Wadsworth literary circle, for girls over seventeen years; literary and social, 8 to 10 P. M. Social reform club, a women's social club. Mothers' meeting, for mothers of the kindergarten children. Smith gymnasium, for boys of over sixteen years.

*Saturday.*—Children's dancing class, for boys and girls from eight to twelve years. Boys' and girls' danc-

ing class, for boys and girls from twelve to sixteen, meets in assembly hall from 4 to 5.30 P. M. H. W. Smith social club, debating and literary club, for boys from sixteen to eighteen years, 8 to 10.30 P. M. Excelsior club, a social and debating club for boys over sixteen years. Girls' gymnasium, for college settlement girls. Dancing academy, managed by a committee of the guild ; for young men and women over eighteen. Endeavor club.

*Sunday.*—Gymnasium, for members of boys' classes, 9 A. M. to 1 P. M. People's singing class ; an elementary class in singing, 2.30 P. M., in guild hall. Central Federated Union, in assembly hall at 2.30 P. M. ; meeting open to all ; an address and discussion the first Sunday in each month at 4 P. M. Musical lectures by Mr. Walter Bogert in assembly hall at 8 P. M.

In addition to the above is the library, of some three thousand volumes, which is open from 1.30 to 5.30 P. M. except on Sunday, and from 7.30 to 9.30 P. M., save on Saturday and Sunday.

There is also a kindergarten from 9 A. M. to 12 M. on all school days, a music school open every afternoon from 3.00 to 5.30 P. M., and during warm weather a roof garden open to guild members each week day night until 10.30 P. M. One night in each week is set aside for music.

Admittance to the clubs and classes with the privileges of the settlement house is gained by application and the payment of small weekly dues. The opinion entertained of the settlement by its neighbors is shown by the fact that these applications are far in excess of its capacity. Hundreds of applicants are turned away, or are kept waiting for months and years before time or death creates a vacancy.

As to the results of the settlement work, they are encouraging in the extreme. The people in the

neighborhood are quick to note the difference between it and the saloon, the music hall and the street (their only other means of recreation), and gladly avail themselves of its privileges. And yet the tenth ward, in which the settlement is situated, is considered one of the most discouraging in the city. Its population of 75,000 souls is housed largely in tenement houses of the lowest type. As to nationality, it is composed of Polish and Russian Jews, most of them ignorant of the English tongue, but speaking Yiddish, a patois made up of the Jewish and several other languages.

Of course the settlement can reach but a small percentage of this large population through its house, but it makes use of other agencies. It keeps in close touch and cooperates with independent movements already formed, such as labor unions, municipal reform leagues, good government clubs, city history clubs, tenement house reform, charity organization society, the churches and missions, and judges of the city courts. It has arbitrated in several strikes with success and has exerted its influence in beneficial labor legislation. And so, by means of the social bond, educational work, and the broader field of the churches, benevolent, labor and civic organizations, it is slowly but surely winning the confidence of the people and lifting them to a higher plane of feeling and citizenship.

The settlement house stands on the corner of Eldridge and Rivington Streets. If one walks down the latter street a block, across crowded, noisy Avenue A, he will come in a few moments to No. 95 Rivington Street, the home of the New York College Settlement, the pioneer of its class in America. Number 95 is a large, old-fashioned brick mansion that fifty years ago was in the centre of the most select residence district. The exterior shows the marks of time and the destructive tendencies of the small boy of the neighborhood,



but within are roomy parlors separated by a wide doorway flanked by Corinthian columns, with heavy mahogany doors relieved by German silver mountings. There is a window conservatory filled with flowering plants, and throughout the house evidences of feminine taste and refinement.

The principles and methods of the College Settlement are so much like those of the University that we will devote our space to a history of its origin and development; for it has grown much faster than its brother settlement and now has houses in three of the larger cities. The conception of the plan is credited to certain graduates of Smith College, who devised their idea perhaps from the very successful work of a similar character in the city of London, England. The first college settlement in America was opened in Rivington Street, New York, in October, 1889, in the same month that the famous Hull House in Chicago was founded. Eight months later the "College Settlements Association" was formed, with representation in four colleges: Smith, Vassar, Wellesley and Bryn Mawr. To-day the association has vigorous chapters in twelve colleges: Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Wells, Packer Institute, Cornell University, Swarthmore, Elmira, Women's College of Baltimore, and Barnard; and three houses, one each in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Its subscription list reaches six thousand dollars annually, a sum that seems much larger when it is remembered that it is drawn almost wholly from the pocket money of girl students in colleges, and from the hard-earned salaries of professional women. From this first settlement have sprung more than eighty of similar character, though not known by the same name, situated in cities extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and in their ministrations knowing neither sex, nationality nor condition.

We will speak briefly of such of these settlements as are situated in New York. Of these perhaps the most important and distinctive is the Boys' Club of 125 St. Marks place. This is one of the oldest institutions of its class in the city, having been organized in 1876 and incorporated in 1887. Unlike the college and university settlements, the Boys' Club does not cultivate the social instinct as a bond of union and an uplifting factor. It admits boys only. It has recently entered upon an enlarged sphere of usefulness through the intelligent, zealous, and sympathetic leadership of its recently appointed superintendent, Mr. Francis H. Tabor.

Mr. Tabor began by inaugurating a policy of play, suitably directed and trained. "Checker, chess and whist clubs were formed, and by a series of matches interest and excellence of play developed rapidly. Gymnasium classes were brought into friendly rivalry, singing-classes were stimulated by the prospect of mimic operatic performances, great enthusiasm developed in our football matches between club teams. These called into requisition a tremendous amount of the very best qualities, patience, courage, gentleness and honor.

"The excellent behavior of the boys at the summer camp as well as in the club-rooms is so marked that there is no room for doubt about the powerful influences the present system exercises."\*

Six thousand boys form the membership of this club. It has recently purchased a building lot on the northwest corner of Avenue A and Tenth Street, and is making strenuous efforts to raise sufficient money to erect a model house of its own during 1900.

Another institution that is doing excellent work is the West Side Settlement at 453 West 47th Street, under control of the Young Women's Christian Association, with Miss Ada L. Fairfield as head worker. This is perhaps one of the most practical, effective and

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\* Report of the Executive Committee, 1899.

democratic settlements in the city. Miss Fairfield, its manager, has had twelve years' experience in settlement work in New York, at first with the college and university settlements and then here, and has made use of her experience to advantage. There is little red tape and formality in the management of the West Side Settlement, but it secures results. The district is tenanted largely by Irish,—proverbially harder to manage than the Latin races,—but the manager and workers have secured their confidence and are doing a good work among them.

Other institutions that are working on the settlement plan are the Friendly Aid House of All Souls Unitarian Church, on 34th Street near Second Avenue; the East Side Home, on 76th Street near the East River, under the auspices of the Church Club; the Nurses' Settlements, uptown and downtown, the former on Henry Street near Gouverneur, the second at 312 East 78th Street; Hartley House, at 413 West 46th Street; the Union Settlement, at 237 East 104th Street; the Gospel Settlement, at 211 Clinton Street (a mission settlement); Christodora House, on Avenue B opposite Tompkins Square, under auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association; and the Alumnæ Settlement, on East 72d Street, supported by the Normal College. The Paulist Fathers have recently founded a settlement at 59th Street and 10th Avenue.



## CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

**"But if the Light  
be Darkness?"**

A newcomer in the field of economic and social education is the "Progressive Lyceum of Chicago." This, in brief, is a lecture bureau, offering the services of some twenty lecturers "who have the cause of the people at heart and who are fully competent to deal with any subject they may discuss;" also, the prospectus adds rather ambiguously "any other radical speakers"—qualifications not named.

Among the lecturers now offered we note, for example, ex-Mayor Jones of Toledo, Edward Markham, Eltweed Pomeroy and Jerry Simpson! Perusal of the whole list leads us to exclaim "Amen!" with more than usual fervor, to the Lyceum's declaration that: "Now, more than ever in the world's history; there is great need for the dissemination of economic truths." Yea, Oh Progressive Lyceum, and however praiseworthy your motives and disposition, with your galaxy of "radicals" turned loose on the community the need is now greater, greater, greater still!

**Education  
in Forestry**

This year Cornell University graduated the first professional forester from its new "College of Forestry." This is an innovation in education, which, like most innovations, comes in a response to a growing need. The need in this case is for more intelligent care in the handling of forests. Preservation must henceforth go hand in hand with destruction,—which sounds paradoxical but is not. It is entirely possible to cut timber so as to both supply the demand for lumber and at the same time preserve the life and actually improve the quality of the forests.

Minnesota has undertaken a broad scheme of forest planting, at the rate of 25,000 acres each year, to cover in all some 2,000,000 acres. When this is completed, if the plan is carried out, 25,000 acres of timber can be cut each year and the plot have time to grow up before the woodsmen reach it again in their circuit of the whole tract. Forest destruction has proceeded too far already, and in some sections has so reduced the size of rivers and streams as seriously to injure the fertility of the lands irrigated by them. This is a grave matter. No country can afford to use up its vital resources faster than it either replaces them or finds a ready substitute. For the special needs it supplies there is no substitute for lumber except more lumber, and no substitute for fertility except more fertility. Both are threatened by the reckless sacrificing of forests, and it is time that the methods of proper selection in cutting and systematic reforestation were made subjects of study and regulation. Graduates of the "College of Forestry" will set the example of intelligent and careful procedure in this matter wherever they may be called into service, but Cornell's new institution will do even more good by drawing attention to the whole problem and helping to create strong public opinion in favor of forest preservation.

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**Sixty-six Years  
of Tenement  
Reform**

An extremely interesting report on "Tenement House Reform in New York, 1834-1900," has been prepared by Mr Lawrence Veiller, secretary of the tenement house commission of 1900. It describes the whole series of efforts to deal with tenement house evils from 1834, when Gerrett Forbes, city inspector of the board of health, first called attention to the problem, down to 1900. The first exhaustive report on tenement houses was prepared by Dr. J. H. Griscom, city inspector of the board of

health, in 1842, and the first legislative commission on the subject was appointed in 1856. Of the report of this commission Mr. Veiller says: "Nothing that has been written since that time has been of greater value."

Reading these early reports and noting how pertinent they are to present-day conditions, one cannot but be amazed that so little real improvement has been made. Mr. Veiller says: "The overcrowding, the poverty, the disease, the crime and vice, met with in New York in 1900, products of our tenement house system, have not come to us because of the narrow shape of Manhattan Island or of the lack of rapid transit, as has been claimed by superficial students of the subject for many years, but because of the primary neglect of the habitations of the poor of this city at a period when they could have been cared for in time."

This is undoubtedly true, but it is not the whole truth. The great drag on effective tenement house reform has been the steady uninterrupted tide of poverty-stricken immigration, and until this is stopped it will be almost impossible to cure the local evils growing out of it. The root of tenement house abominations is not a matter of mere geography; it is not even a matter of landlords' greed, bad as that may often be; it is at bottom a question of the quality of population. Low-class immigrants make the tenements what they are. We can do something to improve the population we already have on hand, but, as matters now stand, when these people make a little progress they move into better localities and their places are filled by newcomers of the same old type. The surest way to destroy vile tenements is to cut off the demand for them, furnished by continuous shiploads of degraded, incompetent and penniless foreigners, for whose social conditions their home governments are glad to shirk the responsibility by dumping them on our shores.



## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

#### The St. Louis Strikers

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—With further reference to the strike outrages in this city, I should say from my observation of the street railway employees before they struck that they were Americans from all through this section. They were a capable, cleanly, orderly, and courteous set, so far as I saw them then. Often I have commented on the fact that the road nearest us had the best mannered men on it I have seen on any line in the country. Nevertheless, since the strike began, several persons, both men and women, have been made absolutely insane by the treatment to which they have been subjected or have seen others subjected. To think that an American woman might appeal in need to an American man or men and be met with blows or worse is almost incredible.

L. B. H., St. Louis, Mo.

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#### The Race Problem

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The race conflict, upon which you comment, in your June number, appears to be a growing issue. The bold assertions made in the United States

senate by Mr. Tillman go to show that there is seldom a final conclusion of any great question in a republic. Even a constitutional provision does not stop discussion of any principle which can be questioned. In the face and of that oft-quoted saying that no government can endure half slave and half free, the undemocratic mind would violate laws and distort constitutions to keep some of our citizens in degradation and deprive them of freedom; and the result is the same whether this is done by the states in trying to disfranchise the negro, or through some act of congress to head off this disloyalty by eliminating all disfranchised citizens from representation in congress. If either or both of these plans are ever resorted to in trying to settle the race question, then the republic will be on the road to decline.

I am in no sense a pessimist, but I believe that the Tillmans are to-day as much traitors to this republic as any men were traitors from 1860 to the supposed settlement of issues during and after the civil war. There is wisdom and patriotism enough in this nation to avoid any down-grade plans in dealing with the race and suffrage questions. In my opinion it is not safe to encourage the Tillmans to undo the results of the civil war, because I do not believe that the enfranchisement of the slaves was a mistake.

L. P. VANCE, Sutherland, Iowa.

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### More About "Trust" Prices

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—As I continue to read your magazine the dealings with trusts interests me more and more. I cut the following item from the *Windham County Reformer*:

"Nine times out of ten when anybody has undertaken to defend trusts he has pointed to the Standard Oil Company and the great de-

crease in the price of kerosene oil as evidence of the tendency of trusts to benefit consumers by cheapening products. The argument was as baseless in fact as it was contrary to the laws of nature. Kerosene oil did go down steadily and rapidly in price for a number of years as the result of the pipe line system and other inventions in the business. But these were none of them inventions or improvements of the competitors that tried to exist against it and the reductions were only what was forced by the competitors though they were ruined themselves one after the other by the highway robbery deal the trusts had with the railroads. What this or any other trust will do when it has the chance is shown by the events of the past few months. The price of oil has been advanced to an extent which involves an increase of 30 per cent. or more in the retail price, and that there was no legitimate cause for this increase is shown by the extraordinary dividend just declared, which is 20 per cent. for the quarter or at the rate of 80 per cent. a year. Last year the dividends amounted to 30 per cent. and the year before to 33 per cent. The additional prices have been imposed simply for the purpose of nearly tripling the income on capital already enormously watered."

You are probably flooded with just such articles; it seems curious that men reason so differently.

C. C. HAYNES.

Wilmington, Vt.

[The rather overheated editorial quoted by our correspondent attempts to deal with facts, and while it is true that men may "reason differently" there should be no occasion for argument on points of fact. As regards the increased price of oil, we investigated the precise economic causes for the increase and gave them in answer to a correspondent's question, on pages 71 to 75 of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for January, 1900; also, they appear in more detail in Mr. Gunton's lecture on "Standard Oil and Carnegie Dividends," published in Number 20 of the *Lecture Bulletin* of the Institute of Social Economics, March 3rd, 1900.]



## BOOK REVIEWS

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION. A Study in Government. By Frank J. Goodnow, A. M., LL. D. Professor of Administrative Law in Columbia University. The Macmillan Company, New York. Cloth, 270 pp. \$1.50. 1900.

Professor Goodnow's book is entirely true to its title. It is a study of government through politics as represented in parties, and administration as represented in government. The book has many attractive features. It is philosophic without being dreamy, and historical without being tedious. The air of scholarship, directness and simplicity of statement and constant freshness in the best sense pervades the entire book. It is at once interesting in style, suggestive and often instructive in matter. Without much elaboration he makes it quite clear (page 9) that: "The action of the state as a political entity consists either in operations necessary to the expression of its will, or in operations necessary to the execution of that will." First is politics, and second administration. The creation and expression of the will of the people is politics and is chiefly the work of parties. The execution of these policies is the work of the administration.

Professor Goodnow reviews in a brief, concise, yet clear manner the evolution of politics along with the growth of popular government. His evident purpose is, historically, to lead to the discussion of the boss system in this country, but in doing so he is not blind to the causes which have led to our political conditions. On the contrary he points them out, and with great frankness admits the difficulty or impossibility of creating much reform by arbitrary methods. In this con-

nection he gives a most interesting account of the rise of bossism in English politics, which to-day is represented in the prime minister, who is the legally recognized political boss. He points out some of the worst features of the boss system in this country, with the implication that these represent the normal character of political leadership, and here he comes the nearest stepping down from the high plane which characterizes the book. On this he calls in Horace Deming (page 170) to put on the paint; which weakens rather than strengthens his argument, since Mr. Deming is a notorious anti-boss crank with whom exaggeration is normal statement.

He thinks our system of government is not truly popular. He says: "What the people should have, if the government is to be really popular in character, is the power at a given time to force an unpopular party out of the control of the government, and to oblige the party leaders in whom they do not have confidence to lay down their rights of leadership, giving place to others more in accord with the public will. Until such a condition of things is reached, either within the government or the party, no government can be regarded as popular."

He thinks the English system is more popular than our own, and has many advantages, but does not make the mistake, however, of attributing the superiority of the English system to aristocracy. On the contrary he points out that when aristocracy was strongest in England politics were most corrupt, and that the evolution of the best features of the English system has come with the growth of democracy. The purity and most thoroughly representative elements in English politics have come since the first reform bill.

On this point Prof. Goodnow is thoroughly historical, frank and democratic. There is no indulging

in praise of England to the disadvantage of America, but a rational pointing out of the superiority of certain effective popular features that have grown up with the evolution of English democracy, that would be an improvement on our own provided they could be naturally transplanted. The difficulty of transplanting a method from one country to another is fully realized by Prof. Goodnow, hence he is no advocate of arbitrary panaceas. He holds that the evils of bossism in this country arise from the fact that there is too much power centered in the party and not enough in the administration, and that the party leader outside of the administration is practically irresponsible. If the party leader was actually within the administration he would become a responsible factor because he would have to assume the duties of actual administration of the party policy. On this point that is great strength to Prof. Goodnow's position. Evidence is constantly increasing that party leadership must be more closely connected with administrative responsibility, but as a matter of fact the administration as represented by the cabinet in this country has practically no control over legislation. The party bosses have no definite responsibility which can be definitely located and reached. Prof. Goodnow says: "All attempts to make the boss responsible must take account of this fact. The party must be made responsible to the people. After this is done, the boss will have been attacked in his stronghold, and will be forced to capitulate. In that way, and in that way alone, can we hope to see our government conducted by party leaders amenable to popular control."

The book is a very excellent "study of government" that may be read with advantage alike by both student and citizen. It is suggestive of reform but free from advocacy of political miracles.



BETTER-WORLD PHILOSOPHY. A Sociological Synthesis. By J. Howard Moore. Cloth, 275 pages. \$1.00. The Ward Waugh Company, Chicago.

Profoundly as we dissent from this author's conclusions and most of his reasoning, we are not disposed to question his sincerity of purpose or genuine desire to help solve grave problems. We could make this recognition even more hearty were it not that Mr. Moore needlessly forces upon his readers numerous irritating evidences of personal egotism in the shape of self-conscious "smart phrases," not to mention publishing his own portrait as the frontispiece of his book. This is the more surprising, considering that one of the chief points he tries to make is that things will never go well in this world until all self-seeking—"egoism"—is suppressed, the individual lost sight of for the sake of the mass.

The book might better have been named "Other-World Philosophy." There is comparatively little in it that holds true of this mundane sphere of ours, either in explaining conditions as they are and how we reached them, or the kind of ideals toward which society is moving or ought to move. The author discusses a variety of social, individual and industrial problems, chiefly centering about the industrial, which will only be made right, he believes, when all industries are owned and managed by the government. With a great show of profundity and lavish use of scientific polysyllables, veiling a reckless indifference to the facts of social progress and conditions, he finally reaches nothing more definite than restatement of a series of glittering socialist generalities.

For example, he is grievously burdened with the idea that because every child born into the world has not equal rights to all the land and machinery (tools of production), therefore he is a disinherited waif, shorn of

all natural opportunities. Now Mr. Moore himself would probably admit that what he wants every man to have, in the way of opportunity, is opportunity to obtain the largest possible share of the *products* of industry. But did it never occur to him that this very result is only attained when the *tools* of industry are chiefly used under the kind of ownership and expert management that makes them yield the largest possible amounts of wealth for the world's consumption, not when they are divided up among or operated jointly by the skilled and unskilled alike, the experienced and inexperienced, competent and incompetent. Evidently this never did occur to Mr. Moore, for, in speaking of inventions, which he himself describes as "the direct cause of the immense wealth of civilized nations," he says (page 42): "Inventions are found to be blessings to the possessors of things, but to those deprived of everything but limbs they are misfortunes." Well, then, of course the hand-labor hordes of China, who do not have to compete with machinery, must be better off with their wooden shoes, wooden chopsticks and wooden gods, and daily portion of rice, than the self-respecting American workingman struggling under the misfortune of \$2 and \$3 per day, made possible for him by inventions.

The conclusion of this chapter on "The Problem of Industry" is a short piece of description which contains the neatest kind of disproof of the ruinous conditions which are supposed to demand this "Better-World Philosophy:"—

"But it is a splendid spectacle, defective and disorderly, and maudlin as it is—the spectacle of the diversity and correlation of human industries, the spectacle of a human being's sitting down three times daily to a repast in whose preparation a majority of the nations of the earth (whom he has requited by quiet labor in his shop or garden) have taken part, and the

collection and elaboration of materials for which, if accomplished by the partaker alone, would have required, perhaps, if he could have accomplished them at all, a long lifetime."

Exactly, but what then becomes of the idea that human welfare is all being monopolized by the few? It is of the very essence of economic law that when the man who labors in "shop or garden" has products from the nations of the earth on his table three times a day, the vast majority of his toiling fellows must necessarily be enjoying the same advanced state of comfort. In other words, the world's products only reach the people of limited means when so many of them are able to buy that the enormous expense of railroads, steamships and factories to supply the demand becomes actually economical and profitable. Such mighty instruments are used because of the immense quantities they will produce, but these great quantities of products must find a market, or the railroads, steamships and factories could never have been brought into use at all. In brief, the very existence of our highly organized, sub-divided and machine-using industry is proof positive that the great public, and not merely the rich few, are using the products. Inventions have so increased and cheapened the now innumerable products of ordinary use that wage-earners in fact have become the largest sharers in the total advantages. Mr. Moore's so-called few "possessors" cannot gain any profit from inventions except in proportion as the millions buy the product, and the millions can only buy in proportion as prices are so cheapened by the use of these inventions as to bring the products within their reach. This is, in truth, what actually does take place. It is as impossible for any one class to keep all the advantages of industrial progress as for a merchant to sell a piece of cloth and have it too.



HISTORY OF EDUCATION. By Levi Seeley, Ph.D. Cloth, 343 pp. \$1.25. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

In this volume the author presents an outline of the history of education from the childhood of the race to the present time. While it is impossible in so small a work to give a complete history of educational progress, this book is written in such a concise and systematic form that all the most important and suggestive events are at least touched upon.

Mr. Seeley divides the history of education into three epochs,—pre-Christian education, early Christian education and modern education. These are further subdivided, giving an account of the development of education in different countries, and its progress under different leaders and different forms of government.

An important feature is a history of the geography, environments, and social, political and religious conditions of the people in so far as it has a direct bearing upon educational questions.

For those who desire to make a more extended study of particular topics, references to leading historical works are given at the beginning of each chapter. There are also footnote references to special citations, and the chapters close with a brief account of the principal educators of the times, with some of their most noted and pertinent sayings.

The closing chapters summarize the educational development reached by the four leading school systems of the world,—Germany, France, England and America. In fact, the work is almost purely historical. Little attempt is made to point out errors of past or present educational systems, or to suggest lines of future progress; but the subject is presented in such a manner that the defects in educational methods may be

easily recognized and improvements readily suggest themselves.

Mr. Seeley's book is intended for use in normal schools and colleges, but it will be found an interesting study for students as well as for those preparing to teach, not only as a history of education, but for the side-lights it throws on the development of the individual, the family and the race.

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RURAL WEALTH AND WELFARE. By George T. Fairchild, Vice-President and Professor of English Literature, Berea College. Cloth, crown 8vo, 337 pp. \$1.25. 1900. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is the eleventh volume in the Rural Science Series edited by L. H. Bailey. It is an attempt to discuss economic principles as applied to farm life. The only sense in which it appears to differ from other economic text-books is that the illustrations are drawn from farm life rather than from factory life.

There is nothing in it to indicate that rural wealth is any different from urban wealth and welfare. Perhaps the book has the advantage, however, of being somewhat plainer to rural readers from the fact that its reasoning is chiefly based on experiences with which they are familiar. It is a brief resume of the current doctrines of economics and is entirely free from innovation of any kind. On points of disputed doctrine it is silent and on questions of economic policy it is quite colorless. On the matter of free trade and protection, for instance, it briefly states both sides with such innocence that no protectionist or free-trader could take offence. It is a well written, handy economic primer, especially adapted for rural readers and students.

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THE TRUE CITIZEN. How to Become One. By W. F. Markwick, D.D., of the Ansonia Board of Edu-

cation, and W. A. Smith, A. B., Superintendent of the Ansonia City Schools. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. Cloth, 254 pp.

This little book is prepared ostensibly for pupils in the seventh and eighth grades. The object is to inspire high ideals of citizenship in the young student. For this purpose it is admirably prepared. At the head of every chapter are a few trite sayings of great men, which are suggestive and inspiring.

The text also is prepared in an attractive readable form and the characters of public men are chosen to illustrate almost every theme. The book is in every way well adapted to accomplish the purpose for which it was written, which is more than can be said of many far more pretentious publications.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

*The Theory of the Leisure Class.* An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions. By Thorstein B. Veblen, Ph.D. \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

*Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1775.* Edited with notes by William MacDonald, Professor of History and Political Science in Bowdoin College. The Macmillan Company, New York. Similar in construction to Prof. MacDonald's "Select Documents of U. S. History" from 1776 to 1861.

*A History of Banking in the United States.* By the late John Jay Knox, former Controller of the Currency. Revised and brought to date. Cloth, leather backs and sides, gilt tops, 900 pp., 8vo; with steel plate portraits, etc. \$5. Bradford Rhodes & Co., New York. With a complete history of state banking experience, sketches of eminent American financiers, etc.



## FROM JULY MAGAZINES

"The superintendent of one of our largest hospitals for the insane declares that nineteen out of twenty of the business and professional men who come under his care have been in the habit of carrying business on their minds for seven days in each and every week."  
—DR. JAMES M. BUCKLEY, in "How to Safeguard One's Sanity," *The Century*.

"The Boer is lazy. He is almost too lazy to go and fight. He is entirely too lazy to scout or do picket duty or dig trenches. . . . He makes nothing of sleeping on sentry duty, knowing well that he will not be punished if caught. Environment and climatic influences are responsible for this lack of physical energy."—THOMAS F. MILLARD, in "The Boer as a Soldier," *Scribner's*.

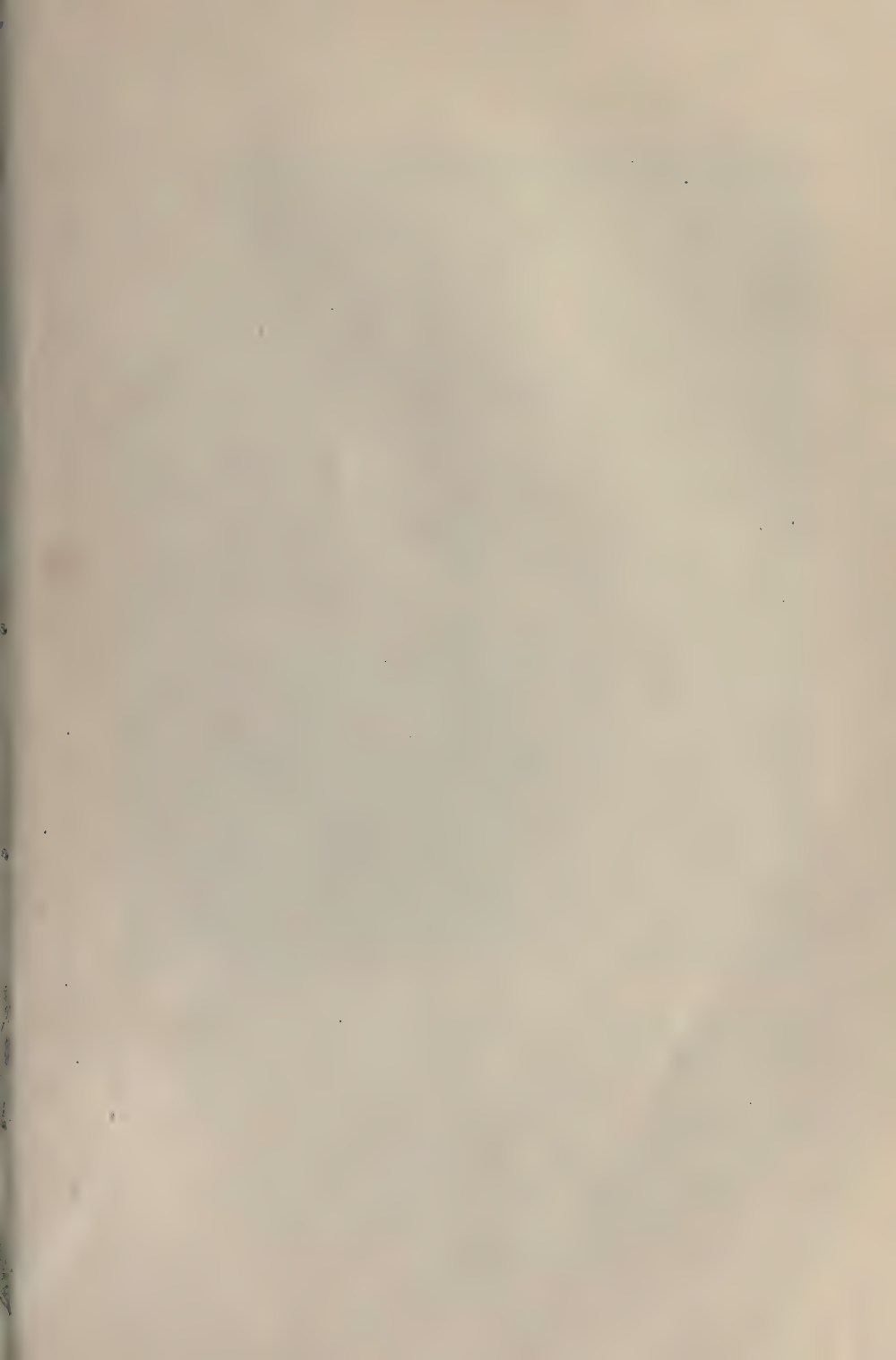
"A clergyman's profession offers the nearest parallel to that of a teacher, but the former is supposed to be under the direct guidance and protection of the Higher Powers, whereas the teacher, with most of the clergyman's responsibilities, is obliged to accept as his immediate Providence a school board of whom it is not always possible to say, 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"—MARTHA B. DUNN, in "Meditations of an Ex-School Committee Woman," *Atlantic Monthly*.

"From the limited number of authors in the early period of American out-door literature, and the still more restricted circulation attained by their works, it is pleasant to pass to the widespread appreciation bestowed to-day upon those who write of nature. We now have magazines devoted exclusively to out-door topics; Thoreau's books are issued in luxurious editions;

and we see the later writers enjoying popularity and the practical results thereof. Indeed, the bibliography of current American out-door literature would fill a volume of no mean dimensions."—H. L. WEST, in "American Out-Door Literature," *The Forum*.

"Happy is the man who forms, early in life (or if not early, then late), the habit of taking all the light and warmth and cheer he can get with a fine glow of appreciation, looking, meanwhile, somewhat sidewise at those opposite experiences he can not escape. Let him squint a little, or look the other way. He will be a happier man, as well as more popular, than the self-appointed devil's advocate who sedulously notes the mugginess of the weather, the feebleness of his pulse, or the fact that he is 'tired' (which, God help us, we all are—until we get rested)."—DANIEL GREGORY MASON, in "The Tendency to Health," *Scribner's*.

"Chinese history has not been without examples of upright rulers and faithful citizens, of 'compassionate fathers and filial sons;' but the ideal state, the ideal family, have been, for the most part, themes to be talked about, to be written of in elegant essays, but not to be striven after, or experienced. The 'Son of Heaven' has usually proved to be a son of earth in his bondage to his passions and allurements. Ministers have been eyes and ears and hands, not for the service of their princes, but for the service of their own ignoble appetites and ambitions. . . . Parents regard children as given to them to command. . . . In general the hard and selfish rule of parents begets a formal and selfish service in children. Falsehood and duplicity take the place of truthfulness and candor, and unloving authority is met by unloving obedience."—D. Z. SHEFFIELD, in 'Chinese Civilization; The Ideal and the Actual,' *The Forum*.







JOHN BATES CLARK, LL.D.

*Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University*

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# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

### **Rescue of the Legations**

Only a few times in history has any single month witnessed more deeply significant and truly epoch-making events than have occurred in China during August 1900. The die has been cast which is to determine the future of civilization in the last great section of the earth where its influence is not already practically in the ascendant. The prolonged suspense, the perilousness of every phase of the situation, the wavering between doubt and hope, the uncertainty as to how each new step might affect the besieged Europeans and the whole course of China's policy, the swift march to Peking and forcible occupation of the "sacred city" by the allied arms of Christendom, make up a record of intense and dramatic interest.

Practically all hope of the survival of the Europeans in Peking had been abandoned when the first Conger message, of the supposed date of July 18th, was received by our state department though the Chinese minister, Wu Ting Fang. Whether or not this message was a Chinese trick is still unknown, but it has become relatively unimportant since communication with the ministers was restored under an imperial edict of August 2nd. Messages then began to come through from Mr. Conger, Sir Claude MacDonald the British minister, M. Pichon the French minister, and others,

conveying the welcome certainty that no massacre had occurred. From these messages it appears, however, that during the long siege about sixty Europeans were killed and more than a hundred wounded, almost one-fifth of the total number in the legations. A message from Mr. Conger on August 7th reported ammunition and provisions running short and the situation growing more precarious, but in spite of this he sent word three days later that: "Whatever may be the outcome, we will hold on indefinitely."

**Advance of  
the Allies**

Spurred by the growing hope and final assurance of the ministers' safety, the exasperating higgling that threatened to block any effective relief movement until too late suddenly came to an end. The advance began on August 4th. General Chaffee had arrived at Taku July 28th and assumed command of the American land forces, and when the history of this movement is fully known it is more than likely to develop that it was his determination and energy chiefly that brought about the promptness of the advance. The allied forces that marched on Peking numbered about 16,000 men, chiefly Japanese, British, Americans (about 2,000), and Russians, each operating under their own commander. The Japanese furnished the most men and seem to have taken the lead in the larger part of this campaign, though not in any official capacity. Considering the lack of a single authority, the unity and rapidity of the movement shows that the various officers fully realized the gravity of the enterprise and the absolute necessity of sinking personal differences and reaching prompt agreements. A German military officer, Count von Waldersee, has been agreed upon by the powers as commander-in-chief of the allied forces in China, but Peking was taken before the count had finished his



farewell banqueting and speechmaking in Germany. He will be needed, however, in the difficult situation now opening.

**The March  
to Peking**

Pei-Tsang, on the Pei-Ho river, about eight miles beyond Tien-Tsin, was the scene of the first encounter between the Chinese and the relief column. The Russian and French troops advanced on the east bank of the river, the Japanese and English and American on the west. The Chinese concentrated on the west bank with an army estimated at 30,000. Owing to the nature of the ground the brunt of the fighting fell upon the Japanese and English, the Chinese being thoroughly beaten before hardly any of the other troops could be brought into action. No Americans were killed, but the Japanese losses were reported as "considerable." This was on August 5th. The next day a second battle was fought, at Yang-Tsun on the other side of the Pei-Ho and twelve miles further on. Few details of this and the subsequent engagements en route to Peking have been received, but it is known that in the battle at Yang-Tsun the American losses were about sixty, chiefly from the 14th Infantry, besides many prostrations from the excessive heat. Ho-Si-Wu, about half way to Peking, was reached on August 9th; Tung-Chow, ten miles from Peking, on August 12th, and the imperial city was assailed and entered after a stubborn resistance on the 15th. Here again the Japanese were in the lead and lost about one hundred men in the assault, inflicting a loss of three or four hundred on the Chinese defenders. The Japanese and Russians, on the north side, blew up several of the supposedly invulnerable gates, and the Americans, French and British entered through the canal on the south side. The allies at once surrounded the legations, putting an end to an

ordeal that must have been nearly as full of heroic and pathetic incidents as the famous siege of Lucknow. The inner city of Peking, which contains the imperial palace, has been taken, but the emperor and dowager empress are in flight.

**Chinese  
Duplicity**

The manoeuvres of the Chinese government just before and during the advance on Peking have served to unmask new phases of Chinese duplicity and reveal new depths of the shifty, treacherous character of China's whole relation to the western nations. The first move was a cowardly threat thinly veiled under an imperial edict issued late in July, declaring that the foreign ministers were "held as hostages pending the result of the overtures for the abandonment of hostilities against China." Even the Chinese government would hardly have dared bring down the vengeance of Christendom by any such direct act of perfidy as this implied, which could not have been charged up to the Boxers. No attention being paid to this threat, the next step was to appoint Li Hung Chang a special envoy plenipotentiary to negotiate with the powers for abandonment of the advance movement. The aged viceroy proceeded to execute his mission by a fusillade of higgling propositions, all emphasizing the idea that rescue of the ministers would depend on the cessation of military demonstrations. Of course this implied that the government was really protecting the legations and could deliver the ministers unharmed, but it is now known that the government troops themselves were actually the principal assailants. "Rifle firing upon us daily by imperial troops," said Mr. Conger in his message of August 7th; while Dr. Morrison, the Peking correspondent of the *London Times*, in a long dispatch dated July 21st and published August 2nd, expressly declared that the besiegers

were regular imperial troops under Generals Tung Lu and Tung Fuh Siang. On July 2nd, according to Dr. Morrison, an imperial edict was issued ordering the Boxers to go on exterminating the Christians, while on the very next day the emperor telegraphed Queen Victoria that all the outrages that were occurring were being committed by "bandits." The lack of good faith or even good intention is so absolute that it is a serious problem if any Chinese government can again be entrusted with the protection of accredited envoys without the constant presence of foreign troops.

**Triumph of American Diplomacy**

It is no mere boast to say that the rescue of the legations without an open declaration of war between China and the powers is due chiefly to the attitude of the United States. In fact, this is practically recognized throughout Christendom. Secretary Hay's note, issued late in June, was the first express declaration of policy made by any nation, and it placed this country in a position hostile to dismemberment of China, while firmly insisting upon rescue of the legations and restoration of law and order. To get the exact and careful knowledge of the situation necessary for carrying out such a policy, the president appointed W. W. Rockhill, formerly secretary of the legation at Peking, as a special commissioner to go to China and investigate all phases of the situation.

This manifestly fair and conservative attitude probably saved a declaration of war on both sides. It indicated to the allies that this country could not be counted on to join in any spoliation of China, while doubtless it tempered Chinese policy in the hope of getting American support in the final settlement of the case. It led directly to the appeal by the emperor, Kwang Su, to the United States to bring about a "con-



cert of the powers for the restoration of order and peace." This appeal was issued on July 19th, and President McKinley replied, declaring that the purpose of the landing of American troops in China was simply "the rescue of our legations from grave danger, and the protection of the lives and property of Americans;" and assuring Kwang Su that our good offices would be used as desired on three conditions; first, that the Chinese government—

"Give public assurance whether the foreign ministers are alive, and, if so, in what condition.

"Second—To put the diplomatic representatives of the powers in immediate and free communication with their respective governments and to remove all danger to their lives and liberty.

"Third—To place the imperial authorities of China in communication with the relief expedition, so that cooperation may be secured between them for the liberation of the legations, the protection of foreigners and the restoration of order."

This reply was admirably adapted to bring Chinese pretences sharply to the test. Li Hung Chang at once began to parry the vital points by inquiring whether the powers would agree not to march on Peking if the legations should be escorted by Chinese troops to Tien Tsin. To this our state department replied that it would enter into no negotiations whatever until communication with Minister Conger had been restored. Earl Li then inquired whether, if communication were permitted, the powers would agree not to march. Secretary Hay replied that communication with Minister Conger was demanded "as a matter of absolute right and not as a favor," and that by refusing it the Chinese government would put itself in an "unfriendly attitude." Communication was reopened early in August, but our demand that China cooperate with the relief expedition was not complied with, and the result is now history.

The great strength of our attitude throughout has been that, while insisting with even more firmness than

any other power has displayed on the rescue of the legations and restoration of order, we have continued to maintain dignified relations with the Chinese government, assuming it still to exist and recognizing it as a friendly power. By accepting its disavowal of the Boxer outrages and plea of inability to control them, we had absolutely logical grounds for sending our own troops to Peking, a proceeding of which China could not possibly complain. This prevented any formal declaration of war and confined the trouble to the vicinity of Peking. Moreover, the very fact that China was all the time playing the part of arrant hypocrisy in its relations with us gives us morally a free hand, now, in demanding full reparation and proper guarantees for the future.

**The Basis of  
Settlement**

Although the immediate task in hand is to get the Europeans and native Christians to some place of safety on the coast, or perhaps to Japan, this ought not to mean the withdrawal of foreign troops from Peking. To do that would be to throw away the key to the situation, for, unless held firmly in the grip of the powers, China is likely to resist almost any outside proposition touching its future, and so make necessary a new campaign against Peking. To remain in possession of Peking is the natural forerunner of a policy of settlement which shall keep China intact and provide a government that can guarantee security of life and property and maintain proper diplomatic relations. On the other hand, to withdraw from Peking would encourage a policy of partition. Russia is already fighting a hard campaign in Manchuria and England is landing troops at Shanghai, probably to be followed by Germany and France. Although this latter move is to preserve order, if the powers should disagree England will undoubtedly seek

to clinch her control on the rich valley of the Yangste-Kiang, Russia will appropriate northern China, Germany the north-eastern coast, and France her traditional field of influence in the South.

The United States is committed against any such policy and will oppose its adoption. Our immediate demands will probably include money indemnity for Americans killed or injured by the Chinese and full protection for native Christians in China; our ultimate demands will be for equal trade rights and permanent protection of American lives and property. How this will be secured depends on how the immediate situation develops. It may be necessary to overthrow the present dynasty and establish some line that will and can protect foreign interests and still be as acceptable as possible to the Chinese people. If such a proceeding savors of despotic interference it is simply because the shifty tricksters in control have forfeited China's right to solve this problem alone. Is the whole matter to end with taking the Europeans out of China, severing all commercial and diplomatic relations, and abandoning the whole vast empire forever to barbarism? Assuredly not. Still, no foreign power would be justified in again sending diplomats to Peking, or reestablishing trading posts in the disturbed districts, on the strength of mere promises. Full reparation must be had for all lives lost and property destroyed, and China will have to submit to the close proximity if not actual presence of foreign forces to guarantee future protection of life and property on short notice whenever it may become necessary. This may require a certain degree of supervision of China's government, so far as concerns foreign relations and interests, for a long time; at least, until civilization shall have so permeated the nation as to remove all danger of further outbreaks of anti-foreign fanaticism.



Race Riots,  
North and South

An inflamed race prejudice is one of the most intense and violent of human passions, whether it is yellow against white or white against black. The recent anti-negro riots in New Orleans were an outburst of the true Boxer spirit. To be sure, race riots in the United States are local and soon under control; they do not take possession of the nation and compromise the national honor; moreover, they rest generally upon some genuine social grievance instead of ignorant, superstitious prejudice, but the spirit when it does break out has much the same general characteristics.

On July 27th, the negro desperado Robert Charles, murderer of two policemen who had attempted to arrest him, was run down and surrounded in one of the public squares in New Orleans, and, after killing two more officers and one boy and wounding several others, was himself killed and his body mutilated by the mob. For almost a week thereafter the city was the scene of race riots, including the murder of several negroes and ending with the burning of the fine and expensive buildings of the Lafon school for colored children and homes for aged people. Although state troops were called out, the disturbance continued until the mob fury had practically run its course.

Two weeks later, on the night of August 15th, a race disturbance broke out in a west side section of New York city. Like the New Orleans trouble, it grew out of the murder of an officer of the law. Policeman Thorpe was trying to arrest a colored woman when two negroes set upon him with razors and inflicted fatal injuries. Within a few hours an anti-negro demonstration was on foot and a crowd of several hundred went about the principal streets of the district, seizing and brutally maltreating negroes wherever they could be found. The police made only half-hearted efforts to

stop the trouble, and some were even charged with quietly encouraging it,—a disgrace to the city which the more vigorous measures that followed do not expiate. Although the disturbance continued during the next two evenings and many were injured, no one was killed and the outbreaks were suppressed.

Disfranchisement  
in  
North Carolina

Meanwhile, North Carolina has just perpetrated a gross violation of the commonest principles of political morality. At the election of August 2nd a constitutional amendment was adopted, requiring an educational test for all intending voters *except* those or the descendants of those who were legally entitled to vote prior to Jan. 1, 1867. Since only white men were entitled to vote before that date, the exemption in the law applies to all white men in North Carolina; the test will have to be met by the blacks only, and it disfranchises nearly all of them. A governor was chosen at the same election, and the cause of the democratic candidate, Charles B. Aycock, was of course identified with that of the constitutional amendment, securing him an easy victory by a majority of about 50,000. The campaign was one of the most disgraceful seen in the South for years, the whole state being terrorized by gangs of "red shirts," a type of political desperado originating in South Carolina under the Tillman regime. These men went about forcibly breaking up opposition meetings, offering violence to opposition speakers, and preventing negroes from registering or voting. In North Carolina, curiously, the republicans and populists have frequently made common cause, and in the recent campaign United States senators Pritchard and Butler, representing these two parties respectively, were unable even to enter the eastern part of the state for fear of personal violence.

**Influence of Mob-  
Law Example**

These persistent examples of mob law and legal discrimination as the appropriate methods of dealing with negroes, in the South, with the increasing disposition to defend such conduct as inevitable and necessary, is extending its evil influence throughout the country. It dulls the general sense of justice, especially in communities of a low description like the part of New York where the recent disturbance took place. New York suppressed the outbreak and decent public sentiment, overwhelmingly in the majority, with one voice condemned it, but in New Orleans the riot practically ran its course and public sentiment was, to say the least, eager to condone and excuse the outrages. The southern press resented northern criticism, and denounced the proceedings in only half hearted terms. The severity of the provocation was as great in New York as in New Orleans, but the attitude of the two communities was essentially different, and right here is the vital point.

Northern criticism of the southern attitude in these matters is not mere sectionalism, nor is it simply due to inability to realize what the South has to endure from the negro. The North does realize something of that, and more as time goes on, and it notes also that southern planters will not listen to any proposition to send the black laborers away. In the North Carolina case, criticism from the North is not so much on the fact of an educational test as on the unjust discrimination embodied in it, the brutal methods used in securing it, and the unblushing defence of all this by the press and public men of the section. In the same way, it is easy enough to understand and explain the fury of a mob, but to justify and defend it is altogether a different matter, fraught with the gravest consequences. But for the New Orleans riot as a near precedent, backed by decades of lynchings systematically defend-



ed by the southern press, probably no such outbreak as disgraced the west side in New York could have occurred.

Can any community, North or South, expect to escape the condemnation of civilized people everywhere for high-handed crimes against civil liberty and personal rights? Especially, can any community escape criticism for justifying and defending such conduct? This attitude stimulates the very spirit of lawlessness, dissipates self-restraint, and subtly deadens the moral conscience of the community, which it has taken centuries of progress to build up, and upon which, more than upon any laws and constitutions, the strength and soundness of society depends. This laxity of sentiment, once started and encouraged, spreads the more rapidly because its true nature is not appreciated. The specious arguments used in defence of these practices, with their shallow seeming of common sense and plea of necessity, slowly gain a foothold in public opinion and develop a semi-cynical "expediency" type of moral philosophy, which, by its very shortness of range, is the essence of immorality. This is why the southern attitude on the race question is more than an outrage on the negro; it tends to disintegrate the moral fibre of the community and undermine some of the basic essentials of wholesome national life.

#### **The Campaign Taking Shape**

The contrast between the frank abrogation of political rights now accomplished in Mississippi, Louisiana, North Carolina, practically in South Carolina, and next proposed in Alabama, and Mr. Bryan's elaborate and impassioned appeal for the "consent of the governed" as the fundamental principle of all just government, is easily the most remarkable feature of what promises to be a remarkable campaign. The democratic candidate went to In-

dianapolis and there, on August 8th, before a great throng gathered in one of the public squares, was formally notified of his nomination. His long speech is regarded as superseding both the democratic platform and preferences of party leaders, centering and staking everything on the issue of imperialism. Comment on the speech is made elsewhere in this number.

If numerousness of organizations supporting a candidate assure his success, Mr. Bryan ought to win by a large majority. Fusion between the populists and democrats is made complete by the withdrawal of Charles A. Towne, populist candidate for vice-president, in favor of Mr. Stevenson, a step which the populist party will probably endorse. The silver republicans met at Kansas City simultaneously with the democrats, and likewise nominated Mr. Bryan; while on August 16th the "liberty congress" of anti-imperialists endorsed his candidacy in highly emphatic terms. Two or three minor organizations have also hoisted the Bryan flag, but it is notable that the most important group numerically among all the independents—the gold democrats—are in practical if not avowed alliance with the republicans. The national committee of the gold democratic party met in Indianapolis July 25th, issued a statement insisting on the importance of the sound money issue, and significantly declined to put a third ticket in the field. A few prominent gold democrats who supported Mr. McKinley in 1896, such as Edward M. Shepard and Bourke Cockran, are out for Bryan, but their following if any exists has not revealed itself. Probably 90 per cent. of the gold democrats who voted for Mr. McKinley in 1896, with most of the Palmer and Buckner vote added, will go directly to the support of the administration this year.

**Assassination of  
King Humbert**

The frequency of anarchist crimes this year shows revived activity of the "underground" organizations working in all countries for the overthrow of established authority. Attempts have been made on the lives of one or two of the petty monarchs of central Europe, the Prince of Wales narrowly escaped an anarchist's bullet in Belgium last spring, King Humbert of Italy was assassinated on July 29th near his summer palace at Monza, nine miles from Milan, and on August 2nd a futile effort was made to kill the Shah of Persia, in Paris.

King Humbert once said that assassination was one of the risks of his trade, and there was more truth than jest in the remark. The anarchist assassin makes no distinction of persons or forms of government; his hand is against all in authority, and whether the sway of the ruler is beneficent or evil matters not. A French president, a Russian czar, and the wife of an Austrian emperor are equally obnoxious to these desperate fanatics, and so long as intense poverty continues there can be no absolute security against their crimes. Undoubtedly the burden of militarism stimulates the anarchist spirit. In some European countries this burden is a genuine affliction to the masses of the poor, and it will be a predisposing cause of murderous assaults until, with the progress of civilization, industrialism shall have supplanted militarism so completely that the burden of government rests as lightly upon Europeans as it always has upon the more fortunate citizens of the United States.

Personally the murdered king of Italy was of the type least calculated to arouse popular envy and hostility, but politically he typified a foreign policy that has proved an excessive burden on Italian industry and labor. Democratic in manner, a very courageous man, sympathizing with the common people and giving up



part of his personal allowance for the sake of the public treasury, Humbert sought to mitigate the evil effects of a line of policy chargeable perhaps more directly to his ministers than to himself. Victor Emmanuel, the new king, is understood to have been thoroughly opposed to the military expansion feature of his father's reign. If he shall radically change the course of affairs, removing the useless extravagances of a too-ambitious foreign policy and centering all attention on industrial development at home, he will make Italy more genuinely a first-class power than it will ever become by membership in the triple alliance or conquest of equatorial colonies in Africa.

**Skilful Boer  
Tactics**

Interest in the South African war has centered down to the remarkably clever maneuvers of General DeWet. His little force of four or five thousand cavalry has been raiding British outposts, gathering in occasional supply trains and detached companies, and eluding the most careful preparations for his capture. On July 28th, about 1,000 Boers operating under General Prinsloo near the Basutoland border were surrounded by General Hunter and forced to surrender unconditionally, but General DeWet has succeeded in getting into the western Transvaal and probably has joined a considerable Boer force under General Delarey. Guerilla warfare, such as the Boers are now waging, has ever been the most difficult for large regular armies to withstand, especially in an unfamiliar country. To cope with them demands persistence and expert generalship.

Meanwhile, in Pretoria, Lord Roberts has been forced by the unearthing of plots among the burghers and systematic violation of neutrality pledges to inaugurate severe measures. All burghers who have not taken the oath of allegiance to the British government

are to be considered prisoners of war and if necessary removed from the country during the continuation of hostilities, while all who do take the oath of allegiance and violate it must be prepared to face imprisonment or death. Such measures, harsh as they seem, are among the necessities of war whenever the privileges granted to non-combatants are abused, and pledges made only to be systematically violated. Clearly, neither generals nor men can well be spared from South Africa yet awhile.

## THE LATEST PHASE OF THE TRUST PROBLEM

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Recent discussions of the trust problem have not been fruitless. Some things are settled concerning which it was formerly necessary to argue. The trusts are here to stay. Production on a great scale is economical; and the economical establishment, by a natural selection, always survives in competition with the uneconomical one. Laws that aim to break up great corporations into smaller ones will not be workable. Moreover, we shall need the great establishments when we find ourselves enlisted in a neck-and-neck race with other nations for supremacy in world-wide traffic. The opening of China to general commerce and the development of the resources of that vast empire will put the western nations into a position of rivalry such as they have not occupied before. International competition will be keener than it has ever been; and it will become keener yet when China itself shall begin to imitate western methods, use modern machinery and produce, by the aid of its own cheap labor, the very things that we are now offering to it.

Much that is not now generally foreseen is to take place in the Orient, and much that is still less foreseen is to take place in western countries in consequence of the development of the Orient. But of one thing we



may be sure; all this means very keen competition in the production of finished goods, and the survival of those establishments, the world over, that can stand such competition. It is the big establishments that can do this.

A really monopolistic establishment, however, could not do it even though it were big; for it would not be the most efficient of producers. Under the stimulus of rivalry shops are rapidly developing new modes of producing goods; but with that stimulus removed they would develop them far less rapidly. A firm that should have the market of one large country to itself would not need to be forever pulling out its machines and putting in better ones; and it would shirk the waste that this process involves. If in one of two countries the shops in a particular line of business were all consolidated in the hands of a single company, and in the other country they were in different and rival hands, this latter country would be the victor in the race for efficiency and for command of the new markets.

This means that if our own country,—for which we care more than we do for other countries, is to be the victorious competitor in the international contest that is coming, its establishments must be very large, and they must be efficiently and yet cheaply managed; but they must not cease to feel the spur of a healthy rivalry. They must be forced to carry their methods, their organization and their management to higher and higher grades of relative perfection. For the success of the country as a factor in the international test that is coming we need to keep competition alive.

For internal peace we need to do the same thing. A true monopoly would curtail production; and, in doing this, it would force men out of employment and lower wages. It would raise the prices of its goods, and so tax the consuming public. For the prevention of class con-

tentions which would thus arise we must make each big establishment stop short of having a whole market to itself.

How can we do this? At first sight it would seem that we are demanding the impossible. If size means efficiency and the big shop can always exterminate the little one, how can more than one anywhere have a permanent lease of life? There must always be some difference between the sizes of the competing establishments, and pure theory would require that the largest one should be able, as it certainly would be willing, to undersell and drive out of the field every smaller one.

If, however, after doing this, the big concern were to become a true monopoly, and were to resign itself to the pleasures that the absence of rivalry brings, it would soon cease to be as efficient as another company might easily be. Its plant would deteriorate, its machines would become antiquated, its management would become lax, etc. Here would be the chance for the needed rival establishment; and there is no doubt that it would make its appearance, unless something in the situation made it perilous to do so. The condition that is really to be dreaded is that in which a monopoly holds the field, curtails production, lowers wages and raises prices, while letting its own methods become inefficient *and while still keeping out of the field concerns that have better methods*. A huge dog in a manger would such a trust be, refusing to keep its own production at the point of greatest economy, and yet thrusting out of the field any small concern that should try to produce with greater economy.

How can this be done? Is not the power of cheap production the one thing that is essential to the permanent existence of any establishment? Is not our whole argument constructed on the assumption that, in any competitive struggle, the more efficient producer sur-

vives? There are two or three powers that a monopolistic trust possesses that cause its working to offer an exception to the general rule. By its commanding position it may drive a producer who is more efficient than itself out of the field.

One common method of accomplishing this is by the "factors' agreement." A trust may have control of certain brands of goods that a retailer positively needs. It may then insist that he agree to buy no goods of this general kind except from itself. It may hold over his head the threat to withdraw from him the agency for the selling of its own goods, in case he violates such an agreement. The independent producer is then comparatively helpless. He may offer goods equal in quality to those made by the trust and may offer them at a lower price; but the retailer cannot afford to handle them. If he deals in them at all he risks either losing altogether the agency for certain indispensable goods or losing the discount that other dealers receive; for the trust may content itself with punishing him by a reduction of his trade discount.

How can such a difficulty be met? If a law could be enforced that should compel a trust to sell its products to all cash customers, in the order in which they might apply for them, it is clear that the factors' agreement would be a thing of the past. It is probably illegal now; and, if so, all that is needed is to make the present law effective.

A trust may take other measures to stop disagreeable rivalry. An independent company may be operating in one section of the country; and in order to ruin such a company the trust may put its own prices below cost in that one section, while sustaining them elsewhere. This would be impossible if a law could be enforced that should require a uniform scale of prices for customers in all sections of the country.



An independent company may make only one variety of goods, and may sell it in many parts of the country. The trust may then crush such a company by reducing everywhere the price of this one variety of goods and sustaining the prices of other varieties. This would be precluded if a law could be made and enforced that should take account, not only of the price of one variety of goods, but of a scale of prices for all goods of one general kind and should forbid the disproportionate reduction of the price of one variety for obviously predatory purposes. Lawyers will pronounce all such statutes difficult to make and more difficult to execute. They may regard the last of those here suggested as altogether impracticable; and I am far from claiming that the policy that is here outlined is easy of execution. Very grave are the economic difficulties in the way of it; and, though this paper must be too brief to discuss them, I wish to record the opinion that this general type of price regulation will tax severely the legislative and administrative powers of government. It will be difficult even to begin experiments in this direction until the people shall have canvassed all the various possibilities of trust legislation, and shall have come to this one unalterable conclusion:—that the great corporations must exist, and that they must not be allowed to establish monopoly prices. Concede that trusts are to continue, that they are to make a large proportion of our products, that their inclination is to become true monopolies and that such monopolies would be intolerable, and you will have reached the point where you will expend all needed energy in protecting the independent producer. You will not be deterred by difficulties. Having to choose between what seems impossible and what is really unbearable you will take the former alternative and, by heroic effort, will bring the seemingly impossible to pass.

Of the difficulties in the way of such laws as have here been suggested, by far the more serious are economic in their nature. A discussion of these would require an article much larger than the present one. The legal difficulties are much less serious, and, in view of the vital importance of the ends to be gained, the necessity for making a constitutional amendment is not to be treated as a serious difficulty. That is an obstacle only so long as the people are in a state of unwillingness to adopt the amendment; and a willingness to do anything and everything that may help to solve the momentous problem of monopoly is a condition precedent to successful effort at dealing with it.

In a way the legal difficulties are to be considered the primary ones. This is on the logical ground that, if we are precluded on the constitutional side from enacting a statute, however effective in an economic way it might be, there is no use in encountering the grave economic difficulties. Perhaps the most serious of the legal difficulties is the one that emphasizes the distinction between the kinds of business that perform public functions and those that perform private functions. We may regulate railroad rates, because everyone is compelled to use the railroad and would incur an injury if the company were to plunder him; but not everyone is compelled to patronize any particular shop or mill. A railroad may not be allowed to do as it pleases; for what it pleases to do is to exact more than is fair from the people. Directly or indirectly its exactions would reach them all. An owner of a mill may be allowed to do as he pleases; for he sells only to such customers as may choose to buy from him. If he treats them ill they will buy from another man.

What does such a difference amount to if the manufacturer has a monopoly? Does not his function then take on somewhat of the public character? At bottom

the important fact that distinguishes the public function from others is the necessity that the whole public is under of accepting a service. None of us can get on without having the benefit of the carrying that railroads do for us. Can we get on in a city without having the benefit of the iceman's services? The storing and delivery of ice is ordinarily a private function; but it has the essential quality of a public function where every person in a community is tied to one corporation as the source of supply of an indispensable bit of merchandise.

Monopoly removes the ground on which, for purposes of regulative legislation, a distinction is made between the public functions and the private ones. The valid reason for regulating carrying charges justifies regulating prices of monopolized articles.

The kind of price regulation that is here suggested does not try at all to control the *general* prices of any kind of goods. The trust may make its prices low or high as it pleases, if only it treats all customers alike. Uniformity of dealing with different persons is all that is needed. Personal discriminations are the greatest evil connected with railroad charges; and they are the greatest evil connected with the prices of these goods which are made by monopolies. The reason for suppressing them in the case of the corporation that performs a public function applies equally to the case of the monopoly. An arbitrary regulation of general charges would be intolerable, in the case of ordinary products; but the modest demand for uniform rules of dealing,—for fair treatment in the sense of like treatment of different persons,—is one that will have to be conceded unless the whole centralizing process is to stop. We are now moving in a course that calls, in an imperative way, for uniform dealing ensured by law.



## TYPES OF ANTI-EXPANSIONISTS

A very large number of people, probably a large majority of the adult citizens of the United States, believe in "expansion." It is rather natural that it should be so, because it is the easy thing to believe. It is thoroughly in accord with human feeling, backed by ages of experience guided by self-interest, to assume that the conquerors have the right to despoil the conquered, or at any rate to make them pay tribute in money or territory or both. It is the same feeling that supports the doctrine in political life that "to the victors belong the spoils." In the absence of intelligent discussion of the subject the impulse to take Porto Rico and the Philippines was a very normal and traditional one, and therefore, in taking these island possessions, the administration was following rather than leading popular sentiment. National opinion there was none; it is even now only in the making.

Although popular sentiment doubtless favors expansion, there is a definite body of opinion based upon more or less well-informed discussion of the subject, opposed to this policy. This anti-expansion opinion is apparently divided into three groups or types, each having a different standard of action. These may briefly be designated as the Bryan-Crocker type, the Schurz-Atkinson type and the Hoar-Edmunds type.

The Bryan-Crocker type of anti-expansionists represents for the most part purely partisan motives. Mr. Bryan and the silver and Tammany democrats are opposed to territorial expansion mainly because it is the administration policy. The Bryan party was clamorous for taking up arms against Spain. The administration was frequently criticized and denounced by the

democratic press for its seeming lethargy or timidity. In congress and out the democrats tried to outdo the republicans as a war party. Mr. Bryan saw that to be popular and patriotic one must be for war, and accordingly joined the army as a colonel. But as soon as the war got under way, the disciples of silver and democracy assumed the party function of finding fault with everything that was done, even to the extent of encouraging insubordination in the army.

When victory came and the treaty of peace annexing Porto Rico and the Philippines was before the senate, Mr. Bryan practically ordered the democrats to vote for its confirmation. Immediately after the treaty was signed he raised the cry of "imperialism" and "militarism," which Tammany repeated with emphasis.

That the action of this type of anti-expansionists is based on partisan motives rather than political principle is further shown by Mr. Bryan's speeches on the subject, and the formal statement in the Kansas City platform. They claim to base their opposition to expansion on the "consent of the governed" doctrine, which in brief is that no nation has a right to govern or impose a form of government upon any people without their voluntary consent. To be consistent with this doctrine they should take the position that the United States must immediately and unconditionally pack up its belongings and move away from Porto Rico and the Philippines; yet they have neither the consistency nor the courage to advocate such a policy. It is contrary to the policy of Jefferson and the democratic party as well as of the official action of the republic. The governed were never consulted in acquiring any new territory by this country. Hawaii came the nearest to that, but it was only the consent of a handful of white people that was obtained.

The Kansas City platform demands that before giving the Filipinos independence we shall establish for them "a stable form of government." But this proposition would violate the fundamental idea of the "consent of the governed" theory. The Filipinos have given no consent to the United States to establish for them "a stable form of government." They want the Americans to get out of the Philippines and let them form a government of their own, whether stable or not, or be without a government if they choose. In the face of this opinion among the Filipinos, which is so strong that they are willing to fight for it, Mr. Bryan's policy to establish by military force "a stable form of government" for the Filipinos is pure militarism, imposing our form of government upon an alien people and race against their opposition at the point of the bayonet. To pretend to stand for the doctrine of the "consent of the governed" while advocating a policy of military dictation savors of something worse than innocent inconsistency.

If further evidence of the dishonesty of the "consent of the governed" cry were needed, it is abundantly furnished in the negro-disfranchising movement now going on in the exclusively democratic states in the South. This movement forcefully to deprive a large number, and in some states a majority, of the present legal voters of the power to "consent" has not received a single word of rebuke from Mr. Bryan nor from the Kansas City convention. Their silence on so important a matter clearly indicates the hypocrisy of proclaiming that as a matter of political principle we are bound to give the franchise to the colored natives of Porto Rico and the Philippines or let them go from under the flag. To pretend a zealous interest in the half-naked colored man's right to vote in the Philippines, while using force, fraud and legislation to de-



prive him of the right to vote wherever the Bryan party reigns supreme, shows a moral callousness beside which Chinese hypocrisy seems like frank integrity.

The Schurz-Atkinson type of anti-expansionists is of quite another character. They are not influenced by partisan motives for they have no party, they are chiefly political vagrants. No party wants them except for temporary use before election. They are preeminently political pharisees who do much praising of themselves in public but are always too good to be useful. Their politics are so pure that they can touch nobody without contamination; their wisdom is so profound and their moral ideas are so elevated that they must always lead or else disintegrate the ranks. For some reason they are not in the councils of the administration; they have not been called upon to shape the policy, their wisdom was not sought in conducting the war nor in formulating the conditions of peace. In order properly to punish the administration for this oversight Mr. Atkinson openly made an effort to encourage sedition in the army, and came very near the border-line of treason, which in any other country would have terminated his career. Mr. Schurz is endeavoring to organize a crusade on a platform chiefly made up of adjectives charging the administration with nearly all the crimes that can be committed in the conduct of political policy.

This group believe and have proclaimed that the Bryan type of democracy with its populism and monetary heresy is a threatening menace to the industrial life and fiscal honor of the nation. They know and admit that the administration stands for all there is of sound money opinion in the country, that it has succeeded in a large measure in legally removing the danger of a silver standard, and that it represents all the hope there is in the country for further banking

and fiscal reform. Yet, in the face of all this they deem it their duty to high moral ideas to aid in the most effectual way the election of Mr. Bryan, — not by directly advocating his election but by conducting a crusade of moral abuse against the administration and assuming to stand upon the high ground of preferring principle to popularity or success. To persons like Carl Schurz and Edward Atkinson this course is quite attractive. They enjoy the conspicuousness of constantly opposing everybody on the ground of their own superiority.

This type, represented in its milder form by the *Springfield Republican* and its most violent form by Schurz's and Atkinson's speeches and pamphlets, represents not exactly political hypocrisy but a form of political insanity, born of self-righteousness, which is willing to sacrifice not merely the greater good but the national welfare as a penalty for the failure to recognize their own greatness and court their leadership. This type of anti-expansionists represents the very essence of unpatriotism, the absence of that essential quality in high principle which always calls for the suppression of self for the greater good. They are neither leaders of ideas nor representatives of political principle. They are neither the embodiment of public honor and the spirit of patriotism nor leaders in true reform. They are rather a band of political misfits whose egotism and self-seeking has destroyed their usefulness, and who are helping the work of destruction in the name and garb of higher political morality. Anti-expansion with them is not the advocacy of a constructive political principle but a means of helping Bryanism to defeat the administration, which, according to their own confession, means aiding a policy of national disaster in the name of political righteousness.

The Hoar-Edmunds type of anti-expansionists is

entirely different. This group is no less opposed to the policy of distant colonies governed outside of the constitution than are the Schurz and Atkinsons. Nothing Carl Schurz or Edward Atkinson has said or written is half so strong as were the speeches delivered in the senate by Mr. Hoar. He did not devote himself to pronouncing a moral anathema upon the administration, but exhaustively discussed the subject in the light of history, the constitution and the traditional policy of the United States. He pointed out in a masterly way the radical departure it involved in the policy of the republic. He opposed it with voice and vote, inch by inch, along the whole path from the peace conference to the last vote in the senate. Since the ratification of the treaty he has never tired of constantly pointing out the danger of a policy of permanent annexation, and urged the policy of protective aid toward self-government and independence for all our new possessions.

The utterances of ex-Senator Edmunds have from the first been of the same strong, emphatic, well-informed kind. These men represent not political scolders but statesmen and competent critics, critics learned in the principles of our institutions. They represent the type of high-minded statesmen whose adherence to sound principles and patriotic devotion to the nation's welfare is the supreme guide to their public action. They do not pose as political messiahs and bask in the rays of their own righteousness, but act upon the broad principle that it is more patriotic and more philosophical to accept the highest attainable end than vainly to struggle for the ideal impossible. This is the point of view of the highest type of useful statesmanship. Those who would wreck the accomplishments of the best and prevent the securing of the highest attainable good because it is not the highest conceivable are disintegrating fanatics. They are not intelligent educa



tors but zealous, egotistical obstructionists. They help to defeat the attainable in the name of the unattainable, and thus actually aid in the obstruction of progress. This is the essential difference between the Hoar-Edmunds type and the Schurz-Atkinson type of anti-expansionists. The Schurz-Atkinson group would sink the nation in disaster to gratify a personal end.

The Hoar-Edmunds type on the other hand stand out conspicuously as sinking their personal feeling for the nation's good. They have opposed expansion, they will continue to exercise all the influence they possess in modifying our policy toward the new possessions in the direction of ultimate self-government for the islands, but they are not willing to risk the prosperity of the nation and impose another era of calamity and hardship upon the people because they did not get their way. They realize the dangers of free silver, of populism, of free trade, of the destruction of the business confidence and fiscal honor of the nation, which is involved in the coming election and which may be expected with the success of Mr. Bryan. Their patriotism and devotion to the welfare of the American people is too great to permit them to act on the malicious, penalty-imposing, disintegrating policy of the Schurzes and Atkinsons. The Hoar-Edmunds type occupy preeminently the high, patriotic, statesmanlike position. They opposed the mistake and they continue struggling to minimize its effects, but they stand for the welfare of the republic. They have demonstrated both their wisdom and their loyalty, they have shown their power of political insight and their devotion to the people's interest, and they are of the type of statesmen who will ultimately be entrusted with the final solution of the problem.

## THE ROOT OF EVIL IN JAPAN

ARCHER B. HULBERT, FORMERLY EDITOR OF THE KOREAN  
"INDEPENDENT"

The year 1898 marks the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of the island empire of Japan from the power of the shogun,—the feudal baron, general of the army and sovereign *de facto*. From the twelfth century until 1868 the power of the daimyos had been supreme, and the most powerful daimyo had been the real ruler. The nominal "emperor" was a sacred personage, a figurehead.

During the centuries the samurai were the retainers of the daimyos. They were the military and literary element in the land, a combination rarely found in history. They were designated by two swords which they always wore. These two classes, with the commons, embraced the population of Japan. The situation was not unlike that found in Europe at the same time. The strongest duke was king *de facto*—though the king in Europe, instead of being a sacred figurehead, was most commonly recognized at the block. In 1867 the present emperor, Mutsuhito, succeeded his father, Komei Tenno, on the throne. In the following year by the help of several of the daimyos, including Marquis Ito, Count Inouye and General Saigo, he marched through the empire and destroyed one after another the feudal strongholds of the daimyos. In three years the feudal system in Japan was extirpated root and branch and the emperor *de facto* was invested with a strongly centralized power.

With the fall of the feudal system the samurai were deprived of their two swords and were thrown upon the world to make a living or starve. This is the secret

of Japan's miraculous history in the last thirty years. The samurai seized the opportunity offered by the introduction of western civilization and saved themselves from falling into the third and lowest class of society, common laborers. They laid aside the sword and took up the pen. They were clerks, teachers, diplomatic and governmental employees, or launched into business. Thus the necessary middle class came into existence in Japan; and history has declared positively that a nation is what its middle class is, strong or weak, progressive or otherwise.

The foregoing historical statement is necessary in any contemplation of the root of evil in Japanese civilization. A pernicious form of government is not a root of evil, for forms of government are undergoing change in every land. Evil customs and vices are not roots of evil, since with advancing civilization these are discarded when public condemnation is called down upon them. For inherent roots of evil we must look, perhaps without exception, to the middle class, which represents accurately the genuine strength or weakness of national life. Roots of evil go deeper than the externals, the formalities of national life. They reach down and find their source in the moral sensibilities.

The moral plane of Japanese civilization is very low. The evils which now so impede the advance of social and political life may be directly traced to Japanese moral anæmia. In every human life nothing can be substituted for a moral balance. With the possible exception of the genius, seldom have the world's great spirits accomplished a lasting work save as the character which made it possible had a moral balance. Usually the secret of success has been this balance. The life of the lowly Nazarene was in no way a more perfect life than in its moral equipoise.

Interpreting the words literally, statisticians tell us



that there is no such thing as a Christian nation, and yet the leading nations to-day are so largely controlled by those who accept Christianity that there is at least a high grade of morality in strong evidence. There are moral nations if not Christian. The declaration "In God we trust" may not signify that the United States is a Christian nation but it suggests the ideal toward which we are looking. I sat for a long time in a rocking sam-pan under the great prow of the British battleship *Barfleur* in the harbor of Nagasaki, admiring the glittering figurehead of the lion across whose breast were the memorable words: "Dieu et mon droit." England may not be a Christian nation but that is her ideal; and ideals of nations, as of men, indicate the strength and purpose of their ambitions, their character because their adoration.

Does Japan have an ideal, and what is it? If she has one it is found in a certain document which I shall quote. I do not know that this document has before been printed in English. It may be entitled "Imperial Words on Education." It was written by the emperor of Japan to be read before the people, especially the scholars of the land, on all holidays. On important occasions, when the public mind is turned toward public interests, when the patriotic spirit is awakened and national victories are remembered and natural pride aroused, these are the best words which the emperor of Japan can give his people,—the most earnest, the most wise:

"Our ancestors founded the state on a deeply meditated plan, while their virtues were implanted with deep and far-spreading roots, and our subjects, loyal to their sovereign and dutiful to their parents, have all been as of one mind and have thus in every successive age been able to bring to maturity the beauty of their character.

"Such is the essence flower of our national polity and such is verily the source from which our educational system takes its origin. You, our beloved subjects, ought to be dutiful to your parents, affectionate to your brothers, loving to your wives or husbands and truthful to your friends. You must deport yourselves with humility and moderation, while in your relations with your fellow creatures you should practice an enlarged benevolence. You should develop your intellectual powers and ripen your moral capacity by acquiring knowledge and by learning some business pursuits. You should then proceed to promote the public interest and give attention to the affairs of the community, always respecting the constitution and obeying the laws of the country. In case emergency demands it you should courageously sacrifice yourselves to the public good and thus offer every help for the maintenance of our dynasty, which will be eternal even as are the heavens and the earth. You will thus not only be our loyal and faithful subjects, but will serve to display the good character of your ancestors of old.

"These are the precepts which have been bequeathed to us by our ancestors and it is the duty alike of their descendants and of their descendants subjects to observe them. These precepts are sound, whether viewed in the light of the past or in that of the present, and are found to be correct whether practiced at home or abroad. It is Our wish that We in common with yourselves, laying these precepts to Our hearts, may equally attain to the same virtues."

One cannot read this document, knowing that it is an imperial message from the throne of a recognized nation to those in whose hands a beautiful and immeasurably important realm lies, without pain. Its soulless platitudes grate upon one who has any hope of Japan's proving of assistance to western nations in

the problem of the far East. This document alone would excuse the rabid outbreaks from the English people when an Anglo-Japanese alliance was suspected. "These precepts are sound, whether viewed in the light of the past or in that of the present." No man and no nation strikes higher than the aim, and no nation in the past, aiming at achieving pure morality merely, ever achieved it. In the very face of one of the simplest lessons of history, the emperor of Japan holds out to the youth of the empire a purely moral code. No man's character is determined only by his morals. Many leaders of men have boasted a pure morality whose characters make unsafe models, and most men striving for a pure morality fall far below the mark they set. The morality of the nation will be determined by the ideals of its people. If the highest criterion held before the people is a pure morality that nation will inevitably be an immoral nation. The brook will not rise higher than its source. Indeed, it with great difficulty rises as high. A nation never achieves its ideals, as the individual man never achieves his. Point to the nations of a moral code in history and you will find nations of low morality. The emperor of Japan states that the code of morality which he cites has been handed down from his ancestors. What in all these centuries has this moral code accomplished? What is Japan morally? The most corrupt nation in the world, to-day recognized in the comity of nations. A long resident of Japan, an earnest Christian missionary, gave the writer these figures concerning morality among Japanese women: in the large cities five per cent of Japanese girls are pure, in the small cities one in one hundred, in the country at large no perceptible fraction.

Such a statement as this, in view of all that has been said and written to substantiate it, needs no com-



ment. History is repeating itself in Japan, and the hope of civilization in Japan, as Julian Hawthorne said of India, is in Christianity.

But this is not only a matter for the missionary. It is worthy of the serious attention of the commercial world. An immoral nation is ever a dishonest nation. Japan illustrates this also. Neshima named the vices of Japan as immorality and deception. The latter is directly the result of the former. Travel on the liners which ply between American ports and Japan, and talk with those traveling in the interests of the silk and cotton traders. Almost without exception you will hear bitter denunciations of the business integrity of the Japanese. A merchant who will not touch nor recognize goods which he has ordered from London when they are reported on berth, and leaves them on the wharf or dock exposed to weather and vandalism, is more than dishonest. He is without the quality of honor in his heart, and he is a traitor to his country's weal in that the blame cannot fall upon him individually. The complaint is often heard that some Japanese manufacturers have grossly violated every business rule by failing to fill orders as promised. An agent selects, say, a design for matting, and orders some thousand rolls, to be shipped at a certain date. The order is filled, but a rival agent is shown the order, who immediately offers a few cents more a roll, and walks off with the entire lot. Word is then sent to the original purchaser that it was not possible to fill the order. Take a quotation directly from a practical student of commerce in Japan. "Let two illustrations of the seeming inability of the average Japanese merchant to appreciate the reality of what a contract is, its meaning, and the consequences of not carrying it out, suffice. The first is that of a silk merchant in Yokohama who receives two samples from America to have made in Japan, provided the price is

satisfactory. He shows them to his head weaver who has been in his employ for many years, and although this merchant has no love for the Japanese he believes this man to be an honest one who seeks to work for his advantage. A contract is drawn up calling for the delivery on a certain day of 1500 pieces of one kind and 500 pieces of another. When the day of delivery arrives, instead of the two kinds being delivered as per contract, there are 2000 pieces of only one kind. Upon the man being questioned and shown the contract he replies that he could not make the second kind 'because it was so ugly.' The idea of the sacredness of a contract and that it should be conscientiously and exactly fulfilled to the letter seemed foreign and incomprehensible to his mind."

Another illustration coming in the daily experience of every merchant in Yokohama is that of a Japanese who will make a contract to deliver certain goods by a certain time, say three months, and, without any intimation whatever during that period of his inability to carry out the contract, will when the time has expired coolly return it saying he cannot fulfil it. He has never thought of the loss that the merchant would suffer by not getting his goods. That has not concerned him at all, but he waits till the very last and then throws the thing up without ever thinking of offering the least compensation for the injury caused by his neglect, and often without any explanation whatever.

The whole trend of Japanese education is toward atheism. The greater part of the school teachers in Japan are atheists. How can this be otherwise? And Japan at the same time offers a striking exception to the general rule in that the progress of Christian teaching is advancing much faster among the high class than among the low. The progress of Japan since 1867 may be attributed to the awakening of the highest class of

Japanese, assisted by the old samurai class. Thus, while Japan is forging rapidly ahead, the nation is not moving as one. The government, the upper class, has been advancing very rapidly. The social body is moving much more slowly. The result is an alarming incompatibility. The reason for this is that the higher classes are acquiring, consciously or unconsciously, more than a moral standard. Almost unwittingly, because of their own constant contact with western ideals, they are realizing a higher plane than mere morality. This is becoming, among the best Japanese, as a second nature, the outcome of a higher realization than merely a pure morality. Without accepting western ideals they are conforming their character to those who look up to the western ideals of integrity and the other fruits of Christian civilization. Thousands there are of Americans in these United States who acknowledge no divine law, who are godless above all other creatures in the universe, and yet who, because all their success in life depends upon it, conduct themselves in business and society so as to be, within those bounds, altogether undistinguishable from those who hold steadfastly to the Christian ideal. In just such a way the higher classes of Japanese are conforming to Christian principles of thought and action without acknowledging, sometimes without appreciating, the real foundation of those principles in the Bible.

A Japanese scholar of repute has written: "So far distant from Europe and so long secluded from the world, Japan is apt to be considered by western nations as a contemporary only in point of time. In the order of civilization she is apt to be regarded as a nation living in another age, some centuries backward in moral chronology. But it is an indisputable fact that, politically speaking, Japan is in the stage of national and constitutional government. It would not take a long



time for her to overtake the European nations in industry."

It will take a long time for Japan to overtake the European nations so long as she is regarded as "some centuries backward in moral chronology." For this backwardness will paralyze her commercial and social activity and make her government a formality.

There is in the Japanese people great promise. They are brave, ingenuous, skilful. Their art is unsurpassed of its kind and of great beauty. The root of evil in Japanese civilization is in the growing incompatibility of the upper and lower classes; the powers actually becoming dominated by Christian principle but at the same time holding out to their fellow countrymen the heathenish moral code of their ancestors and not giving them a light which they themselves possess. This is not honest. A civilization cannot be built on the sands any more than can a house. To insure Japanese civilization the upper class must open their eyes to the real cause of their marvelous awakening. They must realize that, had it not been for Christianity, contact with the West would have raised Japan to her present position no sooner than contact with China. They must realize the true foundation of a real civilization. "Other foundation can no man lay than is laid." History in every age has proven the words.

## RURAL FREE DELIVERY

CHARLES BURR TODD

When the social and economic history of the twentieth century comes to be written, large space in it will be given no doubt to the development of rural free delivery,—that is, the free delivery of mails in rural communities, thus extending urban privileges to the dwellers therein, and serving as an important factor in destroying that isolation and dearth of news and communication which is the bane of country life.

“There has been nothing in the history of the postal service of the United States so remarkable as the growth of the rural free delivery system,” writes First Assistant Postmaster-General Perry S. Heath in his annual report for 1899, and he goes on to specify some of the benefits conferred by it as follows:

1. Increased postal receipts. More letters are written and received, more newspapers and magazines are subscribed for. So marked is this advancement that quite a number of rural routes already pay for themselves by the additional business they bring,

2. Enhancement in value of farm lands reached by rural free delivery. This increase of value has been estimated at as high as \$5 per acre in some states. A moderate estimate is from \$2 to \$3 per acre.

3. A general improvement in the condition of the roads traversed by the rural carriers. In the western states especially the construction of good roads has been a prerequisite to the establishment of rural free delivery service. In one county in Indiana a special agent reports that the farmers incurred an expense of over \$2,600 to grade and gravel a road in order to obtain rural free delivery.

4. Better prices obtained for farm products, the producers being brought into daily touch with the state of the markets, and thus being enabled to take advantage of information heretofore unobtainable.

5. To these advantages may be added the educational benefits conferred by relieving the monotony of farm life through ready access to wholesome literature and the keeping of all rural residents, the young people as well as their elders, fully informed as to the stirring events of the day.

The first rural free delivery route was established no longer ago than October 1st, 1896, and included Halltown, Uvilla and Charlestown in West Virginia.

On the 1st of November, 1899, rural free delivery was in successful operation from 383 distributing points radiating over 40 states and one territory, as follows:

Alabama. . . . .	1	New Hampshire . . . . .	5
Arkansas. . . . .	1	New Jersey. . . . .	7
Arizona . . . . .	1	New York . . . . .	24
California . . . . .	14	North Carolina . . . . .	1
Colorado. . . . .	5	North Dakota. . . . .	3
Connecticut. . . . .	6	Ohio . . . . .	49
Delaware . . . . .	4	Oregon . . . . .	3
Florida . . . . .	1	Pennsylvania. . . . .	15
Georgia . . . . .	4	Rhode Island. . . . .	5
Illinois . . . . .	17	South Carolina . . . . .	21
Indiana. . . . .	44	South Dakota. . . . .	2
Iowa . . . . .	23	Tennessee . . . . .	6
Kansas . . . . .	17	Texas . . . . .	2
Kentucky. . . . .	2	Utah . . . . .	1
Louisiana. . . . .	1	Vermont . . . . .	6
Maine . . . . .	7	Virginia . . . . .	4
Maryland . . . . .	10	Washington . . . . .	1
Massachusetts. . . . .	11	West Virginia . . . . .	7
Michigan . . . . .	15	Wisconsin . . . . .	15
Minnesota . . . . .	7		
Missouri . . . . .	12		
Nebraska . . . . .	3		
			383

This novel and beneficent system has attained this growth in the face of the most strenuous opposition, which has come chiefly from the fourth-class postmasters and star-route contractors. The former receive the



value of all the receipts of their offices up to \$1000, and object to having their emoluments taken away by the rural free delivery which invades their territory and inevitably leads to the discontinuance of their offices, although the government, to disarm their opposition, in establishing a free delivery route does not abolish the post-offices in the district covered by it. The first and most formidable foe the infant reform encountered was the unfaith in its practicability of the very officials whose duty it was to inaugurate it. The house committee on post-offices and post-roads, of the fifty-third congress, condemned it as a scheme impossible of execution, which "would require an appropriation of at least \$20,000,000 to inaugurate it."

In his report for 1893, Postmaster-General Bissell concurred with First Assistant Postmaster-General Jones that "the department would not be warranted in burdening the people with such a great expense." Following this, in his annual report for 1894, Mr. Bissell declined to expend a small appropriation of \$10,000 made by congress to test the feasibility of the new system, on the ground that it would result in an additional cost to the people of about \$20,000,000 for the first year," and he did not believe the nation was yet ready to incur so large an outlay for the purpose.

These were the estimates of its enemies however. By 1895 such representations had been made to Mr. Bissell's successor, Postmaster General William L. Wilson, that he avowed his willingness to use an appropriation of \$20,000 made by congress for that year, provided it was continued on for 1896, although frankly declaring his belief that the scheme was infeasible.

But the new system had warm friends in congress, and that body placed \$40,000 in the hands of Mr. Wilson to put the service to the test; and in 1896, as before stated, that gentleman inaugurated the system, taking

care to choose "territory widely divergent in physical features and in the occupation and diversity of its population." Forty-four routes were mapped out in twenty-nine states, and the work put in the hands of officers of the "Division of Post-Office Inspection and Mail Depredations," who were detached for the service from other and pressing duties, on the faithful performance of which their advancement in rank and pay largely depended; but they seem to have performed their duties conscientiously. Their work, however, was impeded by orders which left them no discretion. They were instructed to start experimental free delivery routes in certain specifically named localities, without any previous inquiry as to whether the conditions were favorable or otherwise; and in many cases the conditions were so unfavorable that they came to the conclusion that the routes had been chosen to show the impracticability of free rural delivery, or that it was not desired. Under these conditions it was not strange that several of the early routes were discontinued. That of Allensville, Todd County, Kentucky, affords a case in point. It had three carriers in a county without turnpike roads, township divisions or a county map. Nobody wanted it. Most of the farmers along the route had business which took them to Allensville and the post-office every day, and the rest of the population was made up of colored people who could neither read nor write. The service seemed wholly unnecessary and was discontinued early in 1899. The cost on this route was about four cents for every piece of mail handled. That of Hartsville, Indiana, was  $6\frac{1}{3}$  cents, although when it was reorganized and a new route chosen the cost dropped to 1.28 cents. That from Quitman, Georgia, cost 4.09 per piece; Halltown, W. Va., 3.32 cents; Atoka, Tenn., 2.93; Tecumseh, Neb., 2.81; Clarksville, Ark., 2.72; and others were equally costly.

But some of the original routes gave such immediate satisfaction that the merits of the new system were at once established. Bernardston and Greenfield, Mass., Campbell, Cal., Lancaster, Pa., Loveland, Col., and Tempe, Arizona, demonstrated clearly that free delivery judiciously inaugurated could be made less expensive and more nearly self-sustaining than the urban free delivery established in many of the smaller cities.

The service was later placed in charge of the first assistant postmaster-general, who has reduced it to a system. Now, for a community to secure rural free delivery it must present a petition to the above-named officer, signed by heads of families and setting forth the nature of the country where the delivery is desired, whether densely or sparsely peopled, the principal vocations of the inhabitants, the character of the roads, and the distances which under existing conditions each patron has to travel for his mail, accompanied, if possible, with a rough map of the country, showing the route to be traversed. This petition is then sent to the congressman in whose district the route is situated, who must endorse on it his recommendation and forward it to the department. No route can be established that is less than twenty miles long, or that does not serve at least one hundred families. That is all, except that those desiring the delivery must put up by the roadside safe and secure boxes for the reception of the mail, so that the carrier can reach them without alighting from his wagon.

Carroll County, Maryland, is the only county in the United States wholly served by the rural free delivery system. In that county the government has established the innovation of a post-office on wheels,—a postal wagon specially built after the design of Mr. Edwin W. Shriver, of Westminster, Md., with whom the plan originated. This traveling post-office is eight



feet long with a sliding-door in the center, handsomely painted in blue and gold and lettered "U. S. Postal Wagon." Its interior is fitted up with counter, drawers and letter boxes,—16 large letter boxes in front, 42 behind, all zinc lined. It is drawn by two stout horses, has a driver and a postal clerk, the latter authorized to receive, cancel, collect and deliver all mails; to receipt for all applications for money orders and registered letters, and in short to perform all the functions of a stationary postmaster. This traveling post-office covers a route of thirty miles daily in all weathers, collects mail from sixty United States letter boxes placed at intervals of every half mile, and delivers mail to all the houses by the way.

This service has been remarkably successful from the first and is being followed with great interest by the postal officials, who think that it may shortly supplant the carrier system. Its total cost last year, including pay of clerk and driver and care of horses and wagon was \$1,375. It takes the place of eight fourth-class post-offices and of four star-route carriers, the combined cost of which was about \$1,600.

Another experiment that the department plans to inaugurate will, if undertaken, be closely watched by all interested in the movement. On or about that date rural free delivery is to be inaugurated throughout the county of Fairfield, Conn. This county forms the southwestern corner of Connecticut, and in density of population, good roads and certain other essentials was declared by an inspector of the post-office department, after special examination, to be the best territory in the United States for testing a complete rural free delivery system. If this test proves satisfactory the work of providing rural communities throughout the nation with free delivery will be urged forward with energy.

## POLITICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

The verification of theory is practice, the test of sincerity is conduct. When a person or a party preaches one thing and practices another there is no excuse for being deceived as to their honesty. Four years ago, when Mr. Bryan captured the Chicago convention by his eloquent "cross and crown" speech on the coinage of free silver, there was plenty of room for doubting the soundness or even the sanity of his propositions, but it was difficult to question his sincerity or the sincerity of the party which nominated him. However bad their logic, their theory accorded with their practice. The southern states, which are the backbone of the Bryan democracy, were the home of the green-back movement, of the wildcat banks, and they were and are the hotbed of free silver; therefore, in advocating 16-to-1, government paper money and overthrow of the national banks, Mr. Bryan is entirely consistent with the practice of his party as at present organized.

In his speech at Indianapolis, accepting the nomination for president, he preaches a new gospel for the democracy. It is not money and banking this time, but it is "liberty," the "consent of the governed," and "equal political rights," regardless of race, etc. Here are a few extracts. How do these professions accord with democratic practice, where its control is supreme?

### THEORY

"It was God Himself who placed in every human heart the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master."

### PRACTICE

Then why does Mr. Bryan's party resort to force and fraud to disfranchise the colored "race" in this country.

## THEORY

"We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here."

"A republic can have no subjects. A subject is possible only in a government resting upon force; he is unknown in a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed."

"The democratic party disputes this doctrine [of 'vassalage'] and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law."

"If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is impossible to secure title to people, either by force or by purchase."

"Men may dare to do in crowds what they would not dare to do as individuals, but the moral character of an act is not determined by the number of those who join in it. Force can defend a right, but force has never yet created a right."

"Rights never conflict; duties never clash. Can it be our duty to usurp political rights which belong to others?"

"There are degrees of proficiency in the art of self-government, but it is a reflection upon the Creator to say that He denied to any people the capacity of self-government."

"Once admit that some people are capable of self-government, and that others are not, and that the capable people have a right to seize upon and govern the incapable, and you make force—brute force—the only foundation of government, and invite the reign of the despot."

## PRACTICE

Nor can we "repudiate the principle of self-government in the [South] without weakening that principle" throughout the republic.

Yet Mr. Bryan's party has made millions of citizens into "subjects," practicing government by force without the "consent of the governed."

While "the democratic party disputes this doctrine" in words it is enforcing it in practice in a quarter of the states of the union.

Very true, but in what states where Mr. Bryan's party has power to prevent it do "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?" When and where did it try to practice this precept?

Then Mr. Bryan's party is an organized fraud, for its supremacy in many states has been obtained by doing "in crowds what they would not dare to do as individuals." Its "right" to rule is "created" by force.

Of course not. Yet Mr. Bryan's party is usurping the "political rights" of hundreds of thousands of American citizens.

True, the "Creator" never "denied to any people the capacity of self-government," but despots and the southern democrats always have.

While Mr. Bryan was saying this his party was using fraud, force and legislation to deprive a whole race of their political rights, and establishing "the reign of the despot," in this country.



## THEORY

"Would we tread in the paths of  
 tyranny  
 "Nor reckon the tyrant's cost?  
 "Who taketh another's liberty  
 "His freedom is also lost.  
 "Would we win as the strong  
 have ever won?  
 "Make ready to pay the debt,  
 "For the God who reigned over  
 Babylon  
 "Is the God who is reigning  
 yet."

"If we are to govern them with-  
 out their consent, and give them  
 no voice in determining the taxes  
 which they must pay, we dare not  
 educate them, lest they learn to  
 read the Declaration of Independ-  
 ence and the Constitution of the  
 United States and mock us for our  
 inconsistency."

## PRACTICE

True: and the South which has  
 been afflicted by democratic rule is  
 paying "the tyrant's cost," in  
 poverty, disorder and social in-  
 security. In taking the liberty of  
 others it has sacrificed its own pro-  
 gress. Verily  
 "The God who reigned over Baby-  
 lon  
 "Is the God who is reigning yet."

How true this is of the practice  
 of Mr. Bryan's party for thirty  
 years. It persists by fair means  
 and foul in illegally governing  
 nearly six millions of people "with-  
 out their consent" and it "dare  
 not educate them lest they learn to  
 read the Declaration of Independ-  
 ence and the Constitution of the  
 United States, and mock us for our  
 inconsistency."

A very brief glance at Mr. Bryan's eloquent utter-  
 ances and the thirty years' practice of his party con-  
 clusively demonstrates one of two things; either that  
 Mr. Bryan is insincere and is merely using these lib-  
 erty phrases to catch votes where political rights are  
 more advanced than in the democratic states, or else  
 that he does not represent the democratic party. The  
 party's practice for a generation speaks infinitely louder  
 than Mr. Bryan's words. What the party has always  
 done and is now doing it may be relied upon to do if  
 elected to power. If the party believes, as its practice  
 shows, that inferior races cannot be trusted with politi-  
 cal rights, to proclaim the doctrine that the Creator  
 never denied to any race of people the capacity of self-  
 government is obvious hypocrisy.

Some of the democrats in the South who are more  
 frank and honest than Mr. Bryan are already repudia-  
 ting any pretence of seriously living up to his ethereal  
 political declarations. The *Macon* (Ga.) *Telegraph*, for

instance, frankly declares its unwillingness to take Mr. Bryan seriously in this "consent of the governed," talk and says:

"It is all sweet and nice enough to indulge on Fourth of July occasions in the generalities about the 'consent of the governed,' about 'inalienable rights,' about the equality of all men at birth, and so forth, just as our forefathers did who owned slaves and who robbed the Indians of their land, but it is another matter when you try to apply it to the negro, the Indian, the Kanaka and the Filipino. We of the South are contending for our own, and we are going to have it. The negro has nothing that we want that was not taken from us by force and given to him. He has no land, no birthplace, no heritage, nothing but a right to help govern which was given wrongfully to him. When we take the ballot from him we leave him in a far better condition than he found himself when he came among us as a result of Yankee thrift and speculation."

The *Telegraph* with real southern frankness voices the simple truth about the democratic position on this subject. The democratic party has never been dishonest enough to pretend to believe in the political enfranchisement of inferior races, and Mr. Bryan's sudden admiration of Lincoln and advocacy of Garrisonian principles is a personal flight in political oratory which is contrary to the theory, practice and intention of the present democratic party. If Mr. Bryan should be elected the offices would be filled and the government conducted by people who, like the *Macon Telegraph*, jeer at these equality phrases as empty generalities. They evidently regard these utterances as so much verbal bait for new votes in the "enemy's country." But here Mr. Bryan's cunning is not so wise as the *Telegraph's* frankness. The American people have some sense of the fitness of things.

## ARE WE A GOTHIC OR MIXED RACE? IV\*

MOULTON EMERY

The English element in the United States predominates not only in blood but prevails everywhere in language. There are no dialects in this country. The speech of the Pennsylvania Dutch, the Louisiana Creoles and the New Mexican "Greasers" cannot fairly be counted as such. Those communities represent the fruits of capture, purchase and conquest, and naturally are slow to forget their mother tongues. Except among them, and here and there a colony of new-comers, one may travel over the whole country, North, South, East and West, without finding the slightest difficulty in making himself understood. Indeed, he will find the same language spoken everywhere, as a rule, in all its purity. One swallow does not make a summer, nor do a few provincialisms make a dialect. The dialects of American dialect writers exist wholly in their imaginations. Of no people in Europe can the same be said, even of the most enlightened nationalities. England is full of dialects. A Yorkshire man cannot be understood in London. Scotland has her Highland and Lowland dialects. Throughout France, containing one of the most homogeneous of peoples, every province has its patois. In Germany they have their high German and their low German. In Denmark the scholars and the nobility have one language and the peasantry have

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\*This article concludes Mr. Emery's series, which began in our June number, on the racial origin and composition of the people of the United States. Among the authorities to which he refers in support of his data are Froude, Green, Macaulay, Buckle, Bancroft, Palfrey, Hewitt, Ramsay, Baird and the United States Census Reports of 1890.



another. Everywhere else in Europe the same conditions prevail.

It cannot be said that the American people owe their general uniformity of speech to the simplicity of structure and ease of acquisition of the English language. If so the same should be true in England, but it is not. In old countries communities seldom commingle. In a new country, and scattered to the four quarters of it, they are individually absorbed and assimilated. Such has been the case, generally, with the immigrants to the United States. Even where they have settled in a body, the public schools, the newspapers and the railways have forced them eventually to learn the English language, willingly or unwillingly.

The great controlling force in all colonial legislation, though hampered at the start in several colonies, was essentially puritan in the North and in the South. It was a force that dissented from episcopacy, from aristocracy, from royalty, and from everything that they implied. The only attempt at aristocracy was in South Carolina, where, under John Lock's constitution, a nobility was allowed. But the puritans arose in their wrath and abolished it. Whatever of aristocracy in the shape of a social oligarchy afterwards grew up there was the exclusive product of African slavery and nothing else. The noble cavaliers under the Stuart dynasty who condescended to settle in this country could all have come over in a row-boat. What the South got in her so-called cavaliers were in reality the servants and the gamekeepers, the hirelings that constituted the royal army. She is indebted to her sturdy puritan and Presbyterian settlers, the men driven from England, Ireland and Scotland by episcopal persecution, for whatever she has at all worthy of respect. She still has her so-called cavaliers in her braggarts and swaggerers, and she had her puritans and Presbyterians

in her scholars, preachers and statesmen and in whatever goes to the making of good morals and good society.

But did the colonies receive no noble blood? Shiploads of it. The same blood that conquered at Hastings, Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt. Brain courage is more than a match for mere stomach bravery. What the Normans were to the Saxons and the Celts, that the puritans were to the cavaliers, a superior class. They proved it at Marston Moor, Naseby, Dunbar and Worcester, where they swept the royal forces from the field in headlong rout. On the continent, wherever they fought they marched in triumph. It was exclusively the business of the cavaliers to be ignominiously beaten everywhere, at home and abroad. Under Cromwell the puritans swept every foreign foe from the seas, and by the mere threat of English guns in Italy saved the heroic Vaudois from extermination. Under Charles the Second a foreign foe ascended the Thames and burned the shipping. For a time during the reign of Elizabeth the English church was largely puritan, but the Stuarts and episcopacy triumphed. The puritans, however, could dissent from what they could not permanently reform. Their strength lay with the professional and middle classes, in whom generally rests whatever virtue and morality a people has. Against them was arrayed one of the most worthless races of kings that ever cursed a people, together with the dissolute courtiers and drunken squires and their followers. The puritans stand out on the page of history, *sui generis*, the purest type of Christianity the world had seen for a thousand years. In stern morality they recalled the Hebrew prophets who had received the law directly from God in the thunders of Mount Sinai. Judaism was a religion of righteousness supplemented with ritualism. The prophets preached both, but the people, while at times punctiliously observing the

forms, paid not the slightest attention to the substance—never knew what righteousness was, as is always the case and always will be with a religion of ritualism where the inward is sacrificed to the outward, the moral sense to empty ceremonies. The superiority of the puritans sprang from their noble conceptions of righteousness. They drew their inspiration not only from the New but also from the Old Testament. They went farther than Luther and Calvin and by an act of parliament turned Sunday into the Jewish Sabbath. They abhorred idolatry in every shape and semblance. They cast out ritualism. They believed not in empty forms but in the substance of things—in righteousness,—and they carried their religion into the daily walks of life.

If the puritans took gloomy and austere views of man's mission on earth, and condemned innocent pleasures as sinful in the eyes of God, they were far more tolerant even at their worst than the Scotch Presbyterians. In Scotland the preacher and his elders constituted the kirk session. This court was far more powerful than any civil tribunal. It registered whatever edict came from the pulpit. To disobey it was to invite excommunication, deprivation of property and eternal damnation hereafter. The clergy interfered with every man's private concerns, ordered how he should govern his family and often took upon themselves the personal control of his household.

Surely, since the world began there never was such a despotic system of church government and discipline as that of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Compared with it puritanism was mild and lenient. But Scotland had no dissolute court to cast odium on her church, on men of pure morals and stern integrity, however fanatical they may have been.

It is true the puritans had but little breadth of thought, were narrow-minded toward other creeds, but



what class of Christians had any broader views? Rome demanded conformity on pain of persecution and death, and the Church of England did likewise. It must be remembered that the question in those days was not one of a free conscience but rather one of the true religion.

The great crime of the puritans was that they had endeavored to be better than their neighbors and had succeeded. Like the Presbyterians across the border, they may be amenable to the charge of fanaticism, but to the charge of hypocrisy never. Without fanaticism no great reform was ever effected. Mahomet might have preached forever and accomplished nothing. But with the dread battle-cry, "There is but one God and Mahomet is his prophet," his followers swept over half the known world. Islamism was a revolt against pagan idolatry and puritanism was a revolt against mediæval idolatry, and like all revolts the element of fanaticism was the predominant force in success.

Most assuredly hypocrisy—an assumption of piety or virtue—can never be charged to the followers of the Stuarts, high or low. People never simulate what they value not. The morality, the Christianity of a people that contains no hypocrites must be at a very low ebb. As human nature was, is now, and ever will be till the millennium, such a people cannot possibly have any virtues and must be wholly lost to shame. If here and there a puritan was a hypocrite, what of it? There can be no better evidence of the sincerity of their professions and the purity of their lives, as a class.

The spirit of theological inquiry awakened throughout Europe by the revival of learning and the spread of protestantism dominated English thought during the seventeenth century. Theology was the all-engrossing subject of discussion. What intellectual ferment the puritans brought from the mother country

found a more fitting environment for growth and development in New England than in the South. Man everywhere is the product of his surroundings. Relativity, incessant change, is at the bottom of all sensation. Every thought must of necessity express itself either in a movement, an act, or in calling up other states of consciousness according to the well-known law of association. A mild climate and abundant leisure invited the southerners to the fields and forests for diversion and recreation, to action, to the pleasures of sense, where the intellectual played a subordinate part. The cold and dreary winters of New England shut the puritans out from the physical and forced them back to the mental. Her icy blasts without, and roaring fires within, of necessity stimulated intellectual growth. It was there, around the fireside, in the huge chimney corner with the stars overhead, where was developed into an intellectual life unknown elsewhere in the colonies that spirit of inquiry, of eager curiosity to know the why and wherefore of things. Grave in demeanor, rigid in morals, cringing to no man and yet sociable toward all, the puritans of New England transmitted to their posterity what the death of Cromwell unfortunately prevented those of old England from perpetuating in theirs, grand conceptions of freedom and intense hatred of all class distinctions save such as are cast in the mold of nature.

If, more than any other people, the puritans of New England have stamped their individuality on the country, it is owing not alone to their exclusively English blood but to the superior mentality and morality of their 20,000 ancestors,—“the sifted seed” of a great nation for a new one,—and to their environment,—the rugged soil that nourished them and the wintry blasts that fanned the fires of their aspirations. Her sons have spread all over western New York, Ohio, northern

Indiana, northern Illinois, Michigan, Iowa and into every corner of the great West.

In the past the colonial element of the country has shaped our government, institutions, customs and manners and has given us whatever we have of national characteristics. It has had 280 years of training in the principles of free government and in every respect it constitutes the highest type of sound morality, general intelligence, and broad civilization that any people ever presented since the world began. Until within the last twenty years it has educated immigrants to its ways of thinking and acting, and except in some of our large cities has felt no evil effects from them.

But what of the future? The body politic is no different from the human body. The latter is nourished not by what it eats but by what it digests, and the former not by what it absorbs but by what it assimilates. Violate this maxim and functional disease is the inevitable result. Thirty-two per cent. of the population of two hundred of our largest cities is foreign born. Such was the proportion in 1890. How much greater is it now? A people 250,000 strong, alien in race and language, have domiciled themselves in New England and, prolific as rabbits, they threaten complete possession of the land and openly boast that the day is not far distant when such will be the case. Boston is ruled by foreigners. New York was once an American city within the memory of comparatively young men. To-day it does not even make any pretense of being such. It rather prides itself on being wholly cosmopolitan, on having no nationality. Its streets swarm with the refuse of Europe and Asia who land to-day, and to-morrow as peddlers and beggars take possession of its thoroughfares as their own private property. A horde of ignorant Hungarians and Italians, as little fitted for free government as the savage followers of Attila,



throng in the mining districts, periodically set all laws at defiance, and dominate the land in riot and bloodshed.

It should be evident to the dullest mind that the body politic is surfeited, that it cannot possibly assimilate the hordes of Celtic and Slavic humanity that Europe is daily dumping on our shores. Functional disease has already set in. Coordination and correlation have failed throughout. No causation is ever single: it is always at least two-fold, and frequently many-fold. As in the maladies of men so in the maladies of nations, there is the exciting cause from without and the predisposing cause from within. What would be thought of the father of a large and growing family who made his house a place of refuge and support for all the pauper and vicious children of the highways and the almshouse, to share with his own flesh and blood the family patrimony and even to crowd them out from any share at all? This might be philanthropic, but would it be fatherly? In thus giving the lie to the injunction that "Charity begins at home," would he not be a fraud on humanity? And would he not deserve to be lashed at the whipping post of public opinion? This is precisely what the United States has been doing for the past thirty years. This is the exciting cause.

The predisposing cause is the greed for wealth, for developing the country even at the expense of our nationality. Surely the people already here are enough to do all the developing this country can possibly need. Far better would it be if not another railroad were built for the next fifty years, if to develop the country means the flooding of the land with cheap foreign labor to drag down the native American to the level of European serfdom.

In one hundred years the white population of this country increased seventeen times, and in one hundred

years more, if not another alien is allowed to land on our shores, it will have covered the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It will be close enough for comfortable existence unless we prefer to be packed together as in India and China and to become periodically the victims of famine and sink into political degeneracy.

The American people have thrown off the spells of their childhood, that this country was for all time an asylum for the poverty-stricken of the whole earth, and that they themselves have no preemptive rights which the rest of mankind is bound to respect. At length and at last they have realized a truth which every other people has known and enforced since the dawn of creation, that self-preservation is the first law of nature.

If they would escape a general deluge of foreign blood, an irruption of all the races under the sun, and would preserve their nationality, let them speak out and force congress to shake off its apathy, its impotency and its cowardice and to voice their will, but not with any trifling measure such as an educational qualification. Education sharpens the intellect but it does not improve the morals. It never stopped a thief from stealing nor restrained a sensualist from vice. Intellectually mankind advances, morally it may or may not, may even retrograde.

What is imperatively demanded is a measure of almost total exclusion. A heavy tax—no paltry sum—should be levied on every immigrant so as to shut out the refuse. Or, better still, all immigration under a general law should cease, and none should be admitted except under special treaties with foreign powers with whom we care to negotiate. Europe should be made to understand in no uncertain tones that this country is no longer to be used as a dumping ground for her paupers and criminals. Either this, or let it be under-

stood that native Americans and their posterity have no rights whatever in the land of their birth when their interests may at all conflict with the pleasure of foreign governments and the profits of foreign steamship companies.

Let us hope that eventually congress will rise to the emergency and rescue the country from the peril that threatens it. Surely, from the genuine ills that afflict the people, the colonial element or even the English element alone ought to be able to dictate through wise, just and stringent laws a speedy and effectual relief as befits the greatest and the most glorious of all Gothic nationalities.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

UNABLE TO bring itself to the point of recommending its readers to support Mr. Bryan, the *Springfield Republican* appeals to them to admire him for his oratory, and says: "To Mr. Bryan credit should be given for this much, however obnoxious his principles and his party may be to his critics." Verily, this much and no more. All may well agree that he is an orator though not a statesman.

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THE BOSTON HERALD thinks the Hon. George Fred Williams is "signally deficient in common sense." The New York *Sun* thinks this "absurdity is a habit he has acquired as a Bryanite." The *Herald* knows Mr. Williams and is probably right, while the *Sun* has evidently got the cart before the horse. Williams is not "signally deficient in common sense" because he is a Bryanite, but he is a Bryanite because he is signally deficient in common sense.

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ALL TRUE friends of the republic regardless of party must admit that the administration's conduct of affairs in China has been unexceptionable. It has acted with dignity, promptness and efficiency, and our soldiers have acquitted themselves with ability that compares favorably with those of any of the allies. It is to be hoped that the administration will not permit itself to be influenced by anti-imperialist clamor to prematurely recall our troops from China. We have no desire to acquire Chinese territory, but if we are to have any future relations with the Chinese our duty will not have been completed until order and adequate security

of life, liberty and property of our representatives and citizens in China is fully established and the proper indemnity satisfactorily guaranteed.

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PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH occasionally undertakes to enlighten the people of Canada on American politics. He is so deadly opposed to protection that the name of McKinley appears to have the same effect on him that a red rag does on a bull or a missionary does on a Chinaman. In a recent article in the *Toronto Sun* he describes President McKinley as "guilty of the crime—at once about the greatest and the meanest that a public man can commit—of involving the nation in a war for the ends of his own selfish ambition." To call this an unqualified falsehood is an altogether inadequate characterization. From Goldwin Smith, the political writer and professor of history, this is altogether meaner than mere lying. Of course the people of Canada may believe it, but every American knows better. Mr. McKinley may have a great many shortcomings, but this is not one of them. He was roundly abused for his reluctance to open war upon Spain, he was fairly pushed into it both by public sentiment and by congress, the democrats in congress and out being quite as eager as the republicans. A little more of this kind of writing and Goldwin Smith's opinion on American politics will be as worthless as a confederate dollar.

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THE CURRENT number of *Money* contains a symposium on: "Can the United States Establish Bimetallism at 16 to 1?" The affirmative of this proposition is presented by Hon. John F. Shafroth, member of congress from Colorado, and the negative by Mr. Maurice L. Muhleman of the United States sub-treasury. Mr. Shafroth repeats the stock statements popularized by "Coin" Harvey in 1896 and talks as if we were still in

the midst of an industrial depression, feeding the people in soup-houses. The news that all the factories and furnaces have been started up and hundreds of new ones opened and equipped seems not to have reached the Hon. John F. Shafroth. Mr. Muhleman takes the various statements of the member from Colorado and punctures them one by one, and they disappear like fractured soap bubbles. The most surprising thing about this symposium, however, is not that Mr. Muhleman demolishes Mr. Shafroth's arguments but that such a proposition should be seriously discussed. The idea that free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 with silver at 61 cents an ounce would establish bimetalism is too preposterous to be taken seriously. Before 1896 uninformed people might have been excused for entertaining such a superstition, but in 1900 nothing but political fanaticism can explain it. To give free coinage of silver to dollars worth 46 cents and make them circulate with dollars which cost one hundred cents would require a miracle. Yet the people of the United States are asked to elect a man for president who believes in and would base our financial system upon that superstition.

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THE POLITICAL convictions of the *Boston Herald* appear to be very agile—just when you think they are there they are gone. On July 7th it editorially charged that putting imperialism to the front and free silver to the rear "is simply a politician's trick, and as such must be accounted." After showing that Bryan is a creature of free silver and cannot be trusted it declared for McKinley. But Bryan's Indianapolis speech was too much for the *Herald*, and it is now on the verge of recanting. It says: "It is the utterance of a robust, earnest, competent disputant on a high theme of statesmanship . . . that has hardly been equalled since Abraham Lincoln."



Whew! In what respect this address is robust, competent, and statesmanlike it does not say. It surely cannot be for soundness of doctrine, feasibility of policy or consistency of conduct. The speech is long, eloquent and loaded with rhetorical flights, but it contains only one idea, namely: that all men are born with equal rights to participate in government, or, to use his own words: "It is a reflection upon the Creator to say that he denied to any people the capacity of self-government." This is neither sound in theory nor feasible in practice. No responsible statesman ever taught it, and no government or party ever practiced it, and no authority on political science ever believed it. The address is also entirely inconsistent with the history and practice of his party, which has had abundant painful experience with this subject. It is a masterpiece of glittering phrases and is the true sequel to his Chicago speech. It is to practical political science exactly what his "cross and crown" utterance was to financial science—empty eloquence.

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"The wages of labor are invariably and inevitably regulated by the conditions of living, by rents, by cost of food, clothing and fuel. Leaving out of view the conditions which prevail when there is a surplus of labor at any given center, and which have some influence on wages, the average rate of wages is based on and is regulated by the cost of living. Labor is not cheaper in the South because of its inefficiency, but because the cost of living is cheaper here than in the North."—*Atlanta Constitution*.

IT IS VERY seldom that a newspaper editorial contains so much economic truth as is here presented. Whatever the immediate motive the *Constitution* had in stating this, its truth cannot be successfully challenged. It is useless to deny that this lower cost of living gives

the South a definite advantage over the North. With the use of the very best machinery, southern manufacturers have the advantage of all that science and civilization in other states and countries have furnished, coupled with the low cost of living furnished by its own conditions. These two facts make southern manufacturers' profits in many instances double and in not a few treble those of New England manufacturers. The South is not to be blamed for this, rather congratulated. But this advantage takes away all excuse for working children in the factories under twelve years of age and depriving them of all opportunities of education, or persisting in the twelve-hour system when other states and nearly all other countries have long since established the ten-hour system, and some nine, and a few even an eight-hour work day.

We have no quarrel with the *Constitution* or the advocates of southern superiority, but extend our congratulations for their good fortune. But if they have heavenly conditions there is no excuse for hellish methods. If through these fortunate conditions a laborer in the South is as efficient at \$12 a week as in New England at \$18, then this \$6 a week advantage surely destroys all economic grounds for making the laborer in the South work two hours a day longer than in the North. If the *Atlanta Constitution* and its fellow leaders of public opinion in the South want the world to believe that they are really interested in the laborers' welfare and progress, let them give as short a working day and as good educational opportunities to their operatives as by common consent prevail in other communities. Then the economic advantages of the South will be a net gain to its civilization, which would be a case for universal congratulation.

## THE MENACE OF PRESENT EDUCATIONAL METHODS

LYS D'AIMEÉ

A voice is crying in the wilderness of public education: "Save ye, save ye the children *and* the teachers!" Years ago Elizabeth Barrett Browning raised up her voice in behalf of the little ones crowded in dismal factories and dreary workshops. To-day the heart of a songless Rachel mourns for the children crammed to mental indigestion in those intellectual Strasburg goose-farms, the modern public schools. Only, compared to the public school-teacher, the goose-farmer is a person of moral dignity and freedom, possessing a well-defined purpose and tried and suitable means to achieve the desirable result. His aim is to supply the market with fat, diseased livers; experience has taught him that the way to accomplish this is to deprive his geese of light, exercise and water, and to stuff them systematically with balls of prepared meal. His end is clear, his means are adequate. The object of the public-school teacher is to develop an English-speaking, self-respecting, self-supporting American citizen. To accomplish this simple and noble purpose she has vast and varied means at command; abundance of manual training, such as cooking, wood-carving, sewing, carpentering, paper-cutting, clay-modeling, drawing and painting; dabs of science, such as physiology, botany, mineralogy, geology; dribblets of French or German; proportionately plenty of musical sight-reading and part singing; a fair amount of arithmetic; some history and geography; touches of English composition and grammar, and odd moments of English reading.



This curriculum is a rough computation based upon the teachers' books issued by the board of education. Out of the twenty-five school hours per week, nine hours are devoted to manual training, sight-singing, French or German, and physical exercises, leaving sixteen hours for arithmetic, reading, writing, spelling, grammar, composition, dictation, history, geography and science lessons. Let us see how far this program has enabled the teacher to accomplish her object: the development of an English-speaking, self-respecting, self-supporting American citizen. Take the first, English-speaking. Every teacher, every parent interested in education, every employer of the public-school graduate will agree with me when I say that in no English-speaking land on the globe is English so mangled, so murdered as in the American schools. In Webster we find self-respect given as "regard for one's character." Education, Emerson tells us, is but the development of character. According to Emerson's definition, the public schools are not educating, and the foundation upon which to rear a noble self-respect is lacking. Only upon good work, honestly done, be it paring potatoes in the kitchen or chiseling a statue for the world's wonder, can one build up self-respect, and there is precious little good work honestly done among the pupils of the public schools. We have failed to train our children to an intelligent use of their mother tongue, we have failed to inculcate Ruskin's idea of self-respect, that good work is so much life and bad work so much death.

Now let us see if by sacrificing his speech and his ethical training we have at least made the pupil self-supporting. There are some among us who maintain that it is altogether wrong to mingle the technical and industrial school with the elementary school; that the first duty the state owes the child is a good rudimentary

education apart from trades and crafts. The answer to this old-fogyism is the "success" of the present system. We turn our boys and girls out of the grammar schools at about fifteen. They can barely write a correct letter, their knowledge of facts is painfully meager, their ability to think for themselves sadly slender, but they have had several years of manual training, and upon that we build our hopes. Now let us see to what use the trained hands can be put. Of course we shall pass over cooking, for no public-school girl would demean herself by earning her own livelihood as cook,—certainly she can use this knowledge in her own home, but the chances are her mother rules the kitchen, and by the time she marries she has forgotten her school acquirements. Now for the sewing. How many girls are fitted to become dressmakers' apprentices or competent needlewomen of any kind on leaving the public school? Do carpenters, turners, wood-carvers, rely upon the public-school manual training to keep their ranks supplied with satisfactory workmen? How many studios and art-classes are drawing recruits from the sketching, ink-splashing, paint-daubing pupils of our common schools? We have taken time, sadly needed, from the elementary branches and given it to manual training, and I earnestly ask have we benefited the children? We teach them patriotic songs and to salute the flag and to hate the English and fondly imagine that we have taught the whole duty of citizenship. What graduate of the public schools knows anything of the system of municipal, state or national taxation, and yet the school-children of to-day will be the taxpayers of to-morrow—or the tax-shirkers. What public-school graduate knows anything of jury duty, and yet what commoner service of citizenship? In what school is it taught the boys and girls that the man who knowingly casts a vote for a corrupt man or an unworthy measure

is a brother to Benedict Arnold? Where do we teach our children to respect the ballot-box as they do the altar? for the ballot-box is the altar of this republic. Why have American politics become a hissing and a by-word in other lands? Because the state is not training its children in the duties and privileges of citizenship. Whose the fault? The teacher's? Yes and no.

The American school teachers are of the noble army of martyrs. If the mothers bear the children, the teachers bear the faults of the mothers, and, incidentally, of the board of education. We did not need the able city comptroller to make the disgraceful statement that we pay our teachers, from whom there is demanded from six to ten years' preparation, in the early years of their career the same salary as is paid the man who sweeps the streets. This financial shame has been well threshed of late. But even greater injustice than low pay for hard work and grave responsibility is the amount and variety of labor that is exacted of the teachers. Greater New York demands that its teachers shall be experts in eight or nine different subjects. Besides the English branches, a common-school instructor is required to teach sight-reading and part-singing, although she may be utterly devoid of ear, voice and musical taste. In art she must lead her class through the mazes of clay-modeling, paper-cutting, designing, historical ornament, figure-sketching, drawing from the object and from casts, brush-work in ink, and color work. It makes no difference that she lacks training, talent or artistic perception. The beneficent board of education has decided that the children must be taught art, even badly taught, but art they must have. Of course this statement will be met with the reply that there are special instructors in drawing. So there are special instructors in drawing who come into a class-room for fifteen or twenty minutes every three



weeks or so and give the overtasked class-teacher a lesson before the class. The remainder of the time the class flounders along under the misguidance of a teacher who is clever enough to hide her ignorance, or wastes precious hours under an upright teacher who honestly avows she cannot learn enough about a subject in ten minutes or even ten hours to teach it as it should be taught, especially if she have no aptitude for it.

Of course there are teachers' classes after school in drawing and painting, sculpture and physical training, psychology and science, but there are also only twenty-four hours to a teacher's day. She is expected to be at her desk at half-past eight in the morning, and the class, particularly in the upper grades, is seldom dismissed before three-thirty. Then she settles down to enter the day's marks in the roll-book and to make a record of the day's work and to plan the morrow's program. Several times a week there are the afore-mentioned teachers' classes, some of which she is obliged to attend, as absence from them counts against her and affects her promotion. For her evenings she has from one to four sets of papers to correct for a class ranging from thirty-five to fifty pupils, and the next day's lessons to prepare. Midnight has more than once caught a conscientious teacher over her books and papers. These hours are respectfully submitted to the philanthropic ladies who are zealously endeavoring to introduce the eight-hour system in their households. In plain English, our teachers are working themselves into nervous prostration and can do neither themselves nor their pupils justice. It is physically, mentally, almost morally impossible for a woman, or a man either, to be an expert in eight or nine different subjects. If our pupils must have art, music and training in crafts, by all means give them expert teachers in those subjects. They will make far greater progress in work and in truth, study-

ing two hours a week under a specialist, than in the seven or eight hours they now get under an instructor unfitted either through natural disinclination or lack of proper training. Those who oppose specialists in the schools declaim that teaching one subject tends to narrowness in the teacher. Depth and thoroughness spell narrowness to those broad minds. Yet, I persist in saying that the arts, which make for beauty in life, must be beautifully taught, that is with love and enthusiasm, if they are to be effective. "Beauty is truth, truth beauty," and they are never to be achieved by indifference or incompetence. As for the general class-teacher, no woman who properly teaches the English branches need ever fear becoming narrow, even though Byzantine and Renaissance ornaments will not blossom from her pencil-points, nor yet a life-like sketch of a self-conscious pupil posing à la Maud Muller with the window pole.

Among intelligent, thinking people it is a moot question how much the state owes the child educationally. There are those who maintain that the state's obligation ceases when the child has been thoroughly grounded in the elementary branches, including the English language, followed later by a course as thorough in trade and technical schools. Others again hold that only with the college degree is the state's account closed. The Americans are "the most common-schooled and the least cultivated people in the world," which gives somewhat of an aspect of failure to our much-vaunted higher education. The cause of this deplorable state of affairs is two-fold: the absolute decadence of the study of English in the free schools of America and the tendency of modern education to make study too easy, too entertaining. There was a time when a teacher did not hesitate to demand personal, unaided effort and research on the part of her

pupils, but now the attitude is : " Will you please to listen to what I am about to tell you and I will make it as interesting as possible ? " The mental nourishment we spoon-feed our children is not only minced but pep-tonized so that their brains digest it without effort and without benefit and the result is the anæmic intelligence of the average American school-child. With his ill-nourished mind and his incorrect, slovenly use of his mother-tongue, the future citizen is not a matter of glowing pride to a lover of this country.

When one realizes the vast mass of foreigners the public schools are called upon to educate and Americanize, it is appalling to notice how the study of English is being crowded out of the school curriculum. In New York alone there are thousands on thousands of children, Russians, Germans, Poles, Italians and Hungarians, who never hear one word of correct English from one week's end to the other, save what they may hear in school. And these are the children of whom we say, so long as they grasp the idea the word does not matter. These are the children we are teaching to draw and to paint, to model and to sketch, everything but to read, write or speak English. When an upper grade teacher gets the statement, from a thirteen-year-old pupil, that: " Them Spanish fought well, but the Americans done best," she is inclined to tear her hair till she is cheered by remembering that this same pupil can " bisect the slant side of a right-angled isosceles triangle and prolong the bisectrix through the angle."

I, for one, profoundly believe there is no time in the public schools for any language but English, and vastly more of it than there is at present. We are not a nation of artists, and the free schools were not designed with the intention of developing Michael Angeli. We are not Greeks, we are not even a cultured people, we are not even an educated people. We are a



youthfully powerful, egotistic nation, uncommonly like Kipling's Bandur-log, who kept shouting in the tree-tops: "We are the greatest people, we are, we are, we know we are, because we say we are." For all our screaming our virtues in the face of the world, we are beginning to rot at home, and the fault lies partly with the public schools. If "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world," the voice within the school-room sounds the glory or the doom of this republic. The stability of every modern government rests upon its schools, but in no case so preeminently as in the United States, where annually tens of thousands of aliens are absorbed into the commonwealth, aliens to whom, in their faraway lands, might has often been cruel right, and who now and then through the bitter teaching of oppression confuse liberty with license. The vast majority of the school children of Great Britain, France, Germany, are born of the soil; the language and traditions of the land run in their blood, they are breathed in with the very air; whereas here in America we have to teach the very language and consciously implant the traditions and often uproot, as well, ideas and forms foreign to our institutions and our national spirit.

We have not only to create an utterly new atmosphere but even the organs of respiration. And how do we perform this duty, so delicate and so far-reaching that the future of this great nation rests upon it? How does the state convert the little Pole or the Croatian into an English-speaking American citizen? Do we teach him to express clear, clean thoughts in simple, vigorous English? Do we send our children forth from the schools permeated with the ideals of the founders of the republic, understanding the spirit of the conservators of the nation in the combat of forty years ago? Are they taught that the life-struggle of the re

public was not in the birth-throes of the revolution, but when Alexander Hamilton founded national credit and John Jay and John Adams forced recognition of this nation abroad? Where in our schools do we hear Daniel Webster read or Lincoln's Gettysburg dedication or his second inaugural speech,—words fraught with the impassioned justice of an Isaiah, with the long-suffering tenderness of a Hosea? Of such stuff is the meat of Americanism.

We are a nation of working people, yet where in our schools are the children made to understand the simplest principles of capital and labor, of production and consumption? Yet the labor question is becoming a vital one for this country. The day will come when upon the settlement of that question the fate of the nation will hang, and how are we preparing the future citizens of this republic to meet it? Those who think and watch note with ever-deepening horror the decay of simple, self-respecting honesty among the great mass of American people, as witness the growing and unwarranted extravagance of living, the unashamed demands for free rent and premiums with purchases, the grasping, dishonest desire to gain something for nothing. What the American people need instruction in to-day is not art but plain commercial integrity. No nation was ever saved from decay by art, as Greece is witness. To instil into the hearts and minds of our children an honest scorning of that laxity of self-respect which demands something for nothing, a quick sense of honor in meeting the daily obligations of life, and a love for truth which makes thoroughness its aim in all work, is to do better for them and for the nation than if it were possible to turn them out grand medal artists. Sincerity is the touchstone of art and character. What earnestness, what truth, what training do we give our children with a little bit of painting and a

little bit of sketching, a touch of inventional geometry, and a few stitches in sewing? Were it not higher art, better teaching all round, to make them learn :—

“Not from a vain and shallow thought

“His awful Jove young Phidias brought.

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“The hand that rounded Peter's dome,

“And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,

“Wrought in a sad sincerity.”

Of course, in the present state of English in our common schools, not one pupil in twenty would understand what Emerson means. Yet children of thirteen are supposed to fully comprehend this problem in inventional geometry: “From a point 5 inches from a line describe a circle with a 6-inch radius. Bisect the portion of the line which forms the chord of the circle and prolong the bisectrix.” For such stuff as that we brush our glorious English aside. Is it because the Hibernian element is so powerful among the educational powers that we must banish mention of the hated English from our histories and neglect our English speech? Would these sons of Celtic forbears fain eliminate that tongue from our schools and substitute another, say Dutch, in these days of pro-Boer sympathies? Yet the short-sightedness of the intellectual training we mete out to our children is as nothing to the ethical failure of this system of education. The common schools were not founded to develop scholars, but intelligent, honest citizens for the state. Does not Lowell say: “Is it not the highest art of a republic to make men of flesh and blood, and not the marble ideals of such?” Then he adds: “It may be fairly doubted whether we have produced this higher type of man yet.”

No one who follows the public school of to-day doubts; he bitterly knows. If a lie which is half a truth is the hardest lie to down, a man with a little smattering of undigested knowledge is a greater menace



to the government than his ignorant brother. It is of the half-educated that agitators are made. We prate much of the ideals we implant, but where are they? Our children can draw the flag in all its colors, but where is drawn for them the lesson of purity in private life and public dealings that its white symbolizes; and the strength to hold fast to right against all odds, which is the meaning of its red; or the fidelity to man and fatherland, which speaks in its unfading blue? We teach them stirring patriotic songs which tell how noble it is to die for one's country; but the harder, nobler task to live for one's country we pass by. In what schoolroom of this broad land was there a voice raised in thanksgiving that a committee of the United States senate saved the fair name of this great nation by recommending the unseating of the man who had not only dishonored himself by his bribing but stamped a whole state with infamy? We have no time to spare from our limping pursuit of the arts to discuss anything so prosaic as a polluted ballot-box. When a teacher comes across language that would make a Boccaccio blush, she trusts to the Renaissance ornament and the red-pepper painted in flaming scarlet to instil ideas of chaste thinking and pure speaking. Oh, am I "swinging on the moon-lit gate of dreams" when I cry: Make our children simply honest, self-respecting men and women. Give them high thoughts to express in our golden English tongue. Mr. William J. Bryan once said: "Who can tell upon what child the fate of the nation may hang?" Yet what common school to-day could furnish forth a Clay or a Webster, a Grant or a Lincoln?—all of them men "of the tried clay of the common road" and speaking the voice of the national conscience in clarion tones. Where are we producing their successors? And if we do not raise up preservers we raise up destroyers of the republic.

## CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

### **Higher Education in the Southwest**

We are pleased to acknowledge receipt of the catalogue of Hendrix College. This institution is one of a type that is doing much and promises much for the future of a great section whose educational facilities have hitherto attracted little attention,—the Southwest. Hendrix College is situated in the heart of Arkansas, at Conway, and while under denominational control imposes no denominational test. Courses are offered leading to four degrees, a preparatory school is maintained, and associated with the college are several academies at points throughout the state. The total necessary expenses of a student per year barely exceed \$180.

The long distance from eastern colleges and universities would practically prohibit educational opportunities for this extensive and steadily developing section of the country but for the determined efforts of the local inhabitants, working with very little outside aid. The schools of the Southwest are not the result of "bonanza" contributions, but are mainly supported at home. They represent the praiseworthy determination of southwestern people to bring higher education within the reach, geographically and financially, of their own young men and women.

### **Disfranchisement No Permanent Cure**

We have kept the colored man between two fires for a century, and, wonderful to relate, he is not yet satisfactory to us. First the South enslaved him ; then the North freed him and gave him a political power he was unfit to exercise ; then the South shot and lynched him for using that power ; next the North half spoiled

him by an excess of sentiment and mistaken methods of education. Now both sides are getting together and "frankly discussing" him. Not many months ago Senator Tillman came north and told how the southern states proposed to nullify the constitution by franchise tests that would let in any kind of trash except black trash, as several states had already and North Carolina has since done ; while Mr. Bourke Cockran went down to the race conference at Montgomery and demanded repeal of the fifteenth amendment, to save southern white people the expense and trouble of getting up lynching bees.

It was a mistake to give the ballot to a race of Africans just out of slavery, and no doubt it would be a relief if the mistake could be undone; but it is too late now to approach the problem that way. Repeal of the fifteenth amendment is a chimerical proposition, but the South is really accomplishing the same object by the educational test for negroes only. To say nothing of the gross injustice of such a discrimination, it is only a superficial remedy ; it is likely to deaden rather than quicken active interest in the only kind of efforts that can do any good. The real object of this test is not to shut out illiterates, but to shut out black people whether illiterate or not. Evidence accumulates that what the South chiefly wants of the negro is not that he shall become fit for citizenship, but that he shall remain a convenient working implement. Witness the wrath of the Louisiana sugar-growers over some recent emigration of negro laborers to the Hawaiian plantations. One prominent Louisiana planter is quoted in the *New York Tribune* as saying: "Our plantation 'niggers' are scarce. We cannot get enough to run our fields. . . . Louisiana needs her good 'niggers' and I would favor state legislation to prevent their being taken to Hawaii." This eagerness to keep the colored brother



close by is in one of the states, by the way, which has practically disfranchised him.

Perhaps this is not surprising, in view of the two simple facts, first, that the negro is *not* fit for the franchise, second, that he *is* an efficient field laborer. If there were any genuine, widespread disposition to aid his advancement, an educational test that applied to both races might be very salutary, but more probably it will now only make it an object to see that the blacks get as little education as possible, so that they may not become qualified voters. The various problems created by the negro's presence in the South can never be permanently solved except by raising the whole industrial, social and political capacity of the race. In his present condition he is an industrial, social and moral menace, with or without the ballot. Depriving him of the franchise does not make him one whit more fit to live in an Anglo-Saxon community, but he cannot be exported. Such institutions as Hampton, Tuskegee, and Atlanta University show the kind of results we want, but they are only drops in the bucket. The factory system in the South will some day discipline and raise the negro, but not until the color-line prejudice yields sufficiently to admit him to the mills. There is no short cut out of the race problem. Slavery was a mortgage on southern civilization that will not run out in many generations ; it must be paid, principal and interest. To disfranchise the blacks may lessen the immediate perplexity and pressure of the problem, but for that very reason may also delay its final solution.

## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

#### Against Labor Unions

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have long been a careful reader of your so ably written magazine. The sound doctrines in the main so ably and yet so compactly stated, are made very acceptable. The late action of the anti-imperialists in endorsing Bryan should bring together all those who support McKinley, though favoring slight changes in part. Also, from personal experience and late happenings with strikers,—the unreasonableness of demands, insufficient causes, and failures resulting, can but force the business people and capital to treat them as the most dangerous of all combines. There is no more important question now concerning us than this, which is a constantly growing evil against which public sentiment should be aroused. The ignorance of both members and under-officers of unions at least is such that reason has no force, while their salaries drawn from miners' hard earnings is their only ambition. They are characterless and are envious of the success of others.

E. C. C., Knoxville, Tenn.

Our correspondent has evidently encountered some of the discreditable phases of trade unionism and been

impressed with the bad judgment, lack of knowledge and rash imprudence of conduct they too often display. These are the faults which have ever been charged against labor organizations, with more or less truth, and, until the process of improvement brings them to the point of wise economic action under broadly intelligent leadership, they will continue to incur public criticism and the hostility of employers. But these shortcomings should not be made the basis of denouncing labor organization *per se*. Many of the largest and strongest unions are now as well and carefully managed as the average corporation, and are willingly recognized and regularly consulted by employers. As the standard of living and education of the laboring class improves, so will the quality of their organized action. No human association, from the church down, can be better than the people who compose it, but that is no reason for condemning organization. Labor unions are an inevitable feature of modern industry, a necessary balance to the power of capitalistic organization. They should be recognized and helped towards improvement in conduct and leadership, not merely condemned and antagonized.

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### How Prices Are Determined

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your position in regard to the law of prices, as stated in your comment on my letter published in your issue of last February, and in all your literature, still seems to me to make too little of the force of supply and demand. Cost of production is the measure of the limit of price, both at top and bottom, under the influence of supply and demand. In a sense, cost of production is the scale; while supply and demand are the forces which cause the price to play up



and down this scale. I contend that when demand is light and supply heavy, the price tends towards equality with the lowest cost of production, and under stress toward a point even below this cost. Cost of production is truly in a sense a-regulator; the governor holds to the steam-engine somewhat the relation that cost of production holds to price, the steam itself representing the driving force of supply and demand. The cost of production exerts an influence upon price which restrains the driving force. Cost is a force which tends to keep prices up to the point of lowest cost of production under the assaults of the forces of strong supply and weak demand; but it does not always succeed in doing even that, and it does not keep price up in any other sense. Hence, it cannot be called the force that makes the price. It merely assumes to say to price,—do not go below a certain point. Why does it say so? Because that point is, presumably, the limit of human endurance.

As a matter of fact, we actually find price, at periods, going far below the lowest cost of production; below, in fact, the supposed limit of human endurance, simply because the correlation of the forces of supply and demand has produced that result. Which, then is the stronger force,—when the factor of cost is at times overcome at the only point at which it enters the field in opposition to supply and demand?

The highest-cost producers do not sustain or maintain absolute price in any true sense. Rather, when the sustaining force of demand and supply is weakened the highest-cost producers do not act as forces to reduce prices. It is only in this negative attitude that they are “sustainers” of price.

Cost of production, I grant, is a constant factor, having a permanent influence upon price. In commercially healthy and progressive countries this means a

gradual lowering of price. But supply and demand constitute the force producing vicissitudes of price. This vicissitude leads most largely and widely to profit and loss.

From the individual point of view, the lowest cost of production leads to the largest margin of profit. But profit and loss studied at large and as a grand total affecting all producers as a body, is influenced and governed by supply and demand.

You put supply and demand in an inferior and unnatural position as compared to cost of production and draw broad inferences with reference to the influence of the latter factor, which, upon close analysis, will show the need of judicious pruning and limitation.

ROBERT HALLAM MUNSON,  
Bay Mills, Mich.

We have never presented the doctrine of cost of production as an exact and absolute measure of prices at all times and under all conditions. So far from this being true, we hold that practically no economic law can be a law of exact measurements. At most it can only deal with general tendencies.

The respect in which cost of production determines prices is as the great controlling force toward which prices constantly tend, but there may be constant variations above and below it, dependent upon interruptions in the freedom of competition. Where the freedom of competition is interrupted, arbitrary forces that obey no law whatever come into play. Among these are the ignorance of purchasers, dishonesty of certain kinds of dealers, misrepresentation of goods, industrial panics and loss of confidence, sudden interruptions of supply, etc. Under these circumstances prices will vary almost regardless of law. Nevertheless, in the long-range movement of regular economic production,

exchange and consumption, there are great general forces at work which govern the main movement.

The two most fundamental of these forces are, on the one hand, competition, which tends all the time to depress prices at least to the point where some of the producers whose supply is needed will not remain in the field if the price drops any farther; and, on the other hand, cost of production, which is the force that in the long run decides these most poorly situated producers either to stop lowering prices or withdraw from the field. It is true that some producers will stay in the field for a considerable time at a loss, but this is never true of industries as a whole, and it is never true that all the establishments in a given line of industry are working without profit. If that were so, the whole community would go bankrupt in very short order.

Cost changes are the only changes that can adequately explain the great movements in prices of various commodities from decade to decade. Prices of many commodities have permanently fallen through improved methods of production, some of them to an astonishing degree, while others, involving more hand labor, have risen, and may never become cheaper. This is not because in either case supply has become enormously greater than the demand, or *vice versa*. Supply and demand sustain about the same relation to each other in these various respects as in the early part of the century. Sometimes, indeed, a great increase in demand instead of forcing up prices makes possible such an economical use of better methods that the supply is furnished more easily than before, and prices actually fall. There are hundreds of illustrations of this. Supply and demand undoubtedly does cause temporary fluctuations above and below the cost point, but it is entirely inadequate to furnish any economic explanation of why the price of a given commodity stands at



any particular figure, or why that price moves upward or downward from period to period. This is the only question that is really of interest from the standpoint of public welfare, and only the law of marginal cost of production throws any clarifying light upon it.

## QUESTION BOX

### The Cuban Frauds

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you regard the looting of Cuba's treasury by postal thieves and extravagant military expenses as part of the fulfilment of our pledge to Cuba, to which you point as evidence of the administration's good faith? These are fair samples of what imperialism will give us.

G. H. B.

No, the "looting of Cuba's treasury by postal thieves" is not a necessary "part of the fulfilment of our pledge to Cuba;" neither are these "fair samples of what imperialism will give us." We have thieves under democracy, we have extravagant expenses even by town-meeting authority. There are a few dishonest people left, under all forms of government. Yet nothing could be more prompt and efficient than the way in which the administration has pursued the looters of Cuba's treasury and endeavored to enforce honesty and efficiency in the administration. The fact is, the administration of the affairs of Cuba since the war is one of the best examples of honest, disinterested government to be found in history.

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### Shall We Share in China's Partition

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The Chinese crisis has absorbed public attention almost completely, and I have been watching to see what position you would take upon it. I notice in your August number you say we ought not to take a hand in any partition of China. Now it seems certain that the Chinese government is to be overthrown, and the United States is acting with the powers in the

military operations leading to that end. If we are to spend life and treasure in this enterprise, why should we not have some share in the disposition of China's future?

A. G. L.

The position the United States should take in the Chinese crisis is simple and clear. We want no Asiatic territory. Our political institutions and authority belong in the Americas. All we want in China is freedom to enter her market on the same conditions as any other nation. We are spending life and treasure there now purely and only in defence of the rights and lives of American citizens and official representatives. If a nation is recognized as sufficiently civilized to receive officially our diplomatic representative, then it must guarantee to protect him and his to the last drop of its blood or dollar in its treasury. If it fails to do that, it is our duty to enforce that protection to the last man and the last dollar in this country. All we are doing in China now is to save the lives and secure the liberty of those in Peking. After having done that, our duty will be to demand proper recompense for the expense and inconvenience of the enforced task of sending our army to Asia. After having secured that and provided some reliable guarantee that the like will not occur again, our duty is over with China. We want no part of the flowery kingdom or any part of its territory. When the general settlement comes, however, we have an interest to have the same right of access to Chinese markets as any other nation, no more and no less.

In this matter the administration seems thus far not to have made a single mistake. Its position is clear, high-minded, American and unmistakable. Perhaps no administration ever conducted an international complication which involved the use of arms so absolutely free from criticism.



### What Would Bryan Do for Silver?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir :—Considering that Mr. Bryan has dropped the silver issue and devoted his whole attention to imperialism, it would seem that he does not intend to make a fight on the gold standard if elected. His platform puts silver in the second place, and if elected he could not help know that it was on the imperialism and not money question that he won. Since the danger on this score is so slight, why is it not quite safe to support Mr. Bryan for the sake of his anti-expansion views ?

J. T. H.

Our correspondent is entirely mistaken in assuming that Mr. Bryan has dropped the silver issue. It was simply put in a less prominent place in the platform because it was thought to be a less popular issue upon which to appeal to voters in 1900 than it was in 1896. Mr. Bryan's expansion views are in reality not important. On that question he represents nothing feasible that the administration does not also represent with quite as much definiteness. To be sure he claims to have been opposed to the purchase of the Philippines, but he recommended confirmation of the treaty by which the purchase was consummated. If he had been half as much in earnest on that point as he now claims to be he should have stood with Senator Hoar in opposing the treaty. But, having recommended its confirmation, nothing remains but to establish a stable government in the Philippines or withdraw at once. He does not recommend withdrawing at once, but in the Kansas City platform and in his speech definitely favors using the United States army and money to establish a "stable government" in the Philippines. That is exactly what the administration is doing, so that if Mr. Bryan were elected there would be no real

change of policy. In the matter of Cuba, the administration is doing exactly what Mr. Bryan asks to have done, namely, hurrying all the preparations for handing Cuba over to the Cubans. So that, on the score of imperialism his election would really inaugurate no change.

On the question of money it would. He admits that he is as determined now as he was in 1896 to establish free coinage at 16-to-1, if he has the power. The platform says that. He would also deprive national banks of the right to issue paper money, and have all our paper currency issued as greenbacks by the government.

On the matter of industrial policy, he is an out-and-out free trader, and if he had the power would repeal the Dingley law and give us a non-protective tariff. These are matters upon which he is strongly bent, matters upon which if elected he could make a radical change, and the change he would make would create a money panic and chaos in our industries. The assurance of this, just as in 1892, would give us a panic before Christmas and a first-class industrial depression by inauguration day.

Oh, no, the money question is not dropped, it is the knife up the sleeve. Mr. Bryan is talking imperialism because he thinks it makes a more plausible appeal than 16-to-1, but if elected, and with him a majority in congress, his 16-to-1 and free trade would at once become paramount questions in his administration. Mr. Bryan's election in 1900 would be as dangerous to the credit and industrial stability of the nation as it would have been in 1896. Indeed, he is a dangerous man and should be politically eliminated as quickly as possible.

## BOOK REVIEWS

FIRST PRINCIPLES IN POLITICS. By William Samuel Lilly. Cloth, gilt top, 322 pages. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; John Murray, London.

In this handsomely executed and attractive volume the author has set himself the task of laying down first principles from which political action is to be deductively evolved. He sets out with a severe attack upon the utilitarian school of philosophy. He complains that the temper of the times is anarchical in the domain of politics, and declares with Lord Salisbury that: "No one acts on principles or reasons from them." This the writer charges to the utilitarian basis of political thinking. He lays down the proposition that the first principle in politics or statecraft is justice. He begins by asserting that man has "natural rights and natural duties. . . . The ideals constituting this absolute jural order are the first principles of political philosophy. Of these, the ideal of justice is the first, and embraces, in some sort, all the rest."

He opens his second chapter with the formal announcement that: "At the basis, then, of Politics lies the question, What is just? Political Philosophy, as I just now insisted, is a chapter in the Philosophy of Rights." (Page 11.)

The reader naturally expects from all this to find some definition of "justice" and "right," and here he is doomed to disappointment. By way of denying the utility basis for societary development, Mr. Lilly affirms that man is by nature a "political animal." It is quite true that man seeks associated life, but this is not peculiar to man, it is true of all animals, since without association the species would not be propagated.



What natural rights are Mr. Lilly does not explain. If by rights he means rights acquired not by social experience, rights that are universal and inherent in human nature, then natural rights are limited to the rights of physical existence, the right to live and to take whatever the environment offers that is essential to life. This right belongs to every living being; it is in pursuance of this right that big fish eat little fish, that wolves eat lambs and foxes rob hen-roosts. But all rights to protection from molestation by other human beings, and which are recognized by others, are rights acquired through and guaranteed by society. It is true that rights always involve duties, many of which are the guaranteeing of similar rights to others, but how are these rights acquired? By experience, of course. What does this experience give as the basis of establishing human rights? Simply the means of comparing certain acts and conditions with other acts and conditions and selecting the better. The only known basis for forming correct judgments as to the comparative better or worse is the effect for good or bad upon the people. The good or bad is measured only in one way, namely, by the resulting happiness or misery, which is determined by the usefulness or utility of the action. In rejecting utility and substituting justice and right as the bases of action, Mr. Lilly may well be expected to furnish some standard for estimating justice and right. What is justice? Of what does comparative justice and injustice consist?

It is difficult to conceive of an idea of justice unassociated with the good and wise. Good, like bad, reverts back again to human happiness or misery. There can be nothing good or bad to a stone, because it can experience neither happiness or misery. Wisdom is associated only with the promotion of good. Yet this all rests back on utility. If there is a standard of

justice and of right which does not rest on what is known as ministering to human happiness in the broadest and deepest sense, our author has not pointed it out. He speaks of the law of right and the ideal of justice, as if they were something unassociated with the comparative good and ill in human experience. He says: "The state is the realized order of Right." Yet everywhere that order is different according to the state of civilization. The realized order of right in China is quite different from that in England and the United States, and yet he spells right with a capital "R" as if it were in some sense absolute. There is nothing more obvious in society than that the rights of individuals are subject to conditions created by the consensus of judgment in the community. The basis of this consensus is the welfare of the whole or the usefulness of the institutions to society.

When Mr. Lilly comes to the real discussion of political institutions, he deserts his first principles and is as utilitarian as Bentham himself. He is severe on John Stuart Mill and severer still on John Morley for their utilitarianism, and yet he criticizes the political methods of England and the composition of the House of Commons solely on the basis that they do not give the best results. "He declares that: "One immediate effect of the Reform Act of 1832 was to purge out of the House of Commons some of the most valuable elements and greatly to debase it . . . And from that time until now, the character and tone of the House have sunk lower and lower." (Page 241.)

Throughout his chapter on: "The Corruption of the State," which is the longest in his book, he never tires of denouncing representation by numbers as "false democracy," in which this country comes in for its share of berating, taking as evidence the cheapest campaign songs, and statements of Henry George

such as: "The experiment of popular government in the United States is clearly a failure." This quotation stamps the author as either an uncritical or an unphilosophic thinker. The objection to this whole argument, which is largely characteristic of the book, is that besides abandoning his "first principles" in criticizing politics, and giving only utilitarian reasons, he seems wholly to misapprehend the political character of representation by popular vote. Mr. Lilly makes the mistake of assuming that because numbers are counted in the decision therefore each unit in the number weighs equally. It does nothing of the kind. In reality a popular election reduces the consensus of public opinion to two general groups or parties, through which the registration of preference takes place. The policies of parties are not determined by the individual opinions of the multitude who vote; the fact is that the multitude, except in a very general way, have no opinions. They follow, with some discrimination, leaders, and leaders register their judgment through party declarations, so that in reality public opinion on a given proposition is determined by a relatively small number.

The questions are put in the crucible of public discussion and enter a wider circle through the press, very largely by borrowed influence, and thus while it is true that in the coming election in November there will be perhaps more than 14,000,000 votes cast, there will not be 14,000,000 opinions. The real leadership is small and the following is large, and large according to the reasonableness of the arguments presented for the policy. Of course, it is true that the quality of the arguments is higher and the logic better as the intelligence of the community rises, but it is not at all true that the masses project their ignorance into public policy in the proportion of their numbers to the electorate. It is not democracy but Mr. Lilly's view of democracy that is false.



THE JEFFERSONIAN CYCLOPEDIA. Edited by John P. Foley. Cloth, large octavo, 1031 pp., \$7.50. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York and London.

This is an exhaustive, very convenient and useful collection of the sayings and writings of Thomas Jefferson, on all the important subjects with which his public career was identified. It is not merely a compilation of speeches and public papers, but it is an alphabetically-indexed grouping, under 9,000 titles, of Jefferson's opinions expressed in writings and speeches, to which exact reference is made in connection with each quotation. This method of arrangement loses the advantage of giving entire documents and speeches intact, but on the other hand it is so well adapted to guide one to any particular passage he may desire to look up that it must be considered altogether the best way of bringing Jefferson's ideas within easy reach of the present generation.

In an appendix is given the complete text of a number of Jefferson's most famous writings, including, of course, the Declaration of Independence, his two inaugural addresses, etc. The book contains a frontispiece photogravure of Jefferson, a photogravure of his home at Monticello, and seven half-tones taken from his best-known likenesses. It is very timely, coming at the outset of the political campaign; though it is not in any sense a campaign text-book, but will be quoted by both parties. Jefferson's abstract philosophy, derived largely from French writers, sometimes headed in wrong directions and shifted away from the bedrock of human experience, but he was a man for his time; a zealous, inspiring champion of ideas whose very radicalism was necessary to break into the stolid indifference and conservatism it opposed. This book, as an historical storehouse, will form a valuable addition to any library as affording the best and readiest insight

into the views and doctrines of one of the most famous of the founders of the republic.

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A MANUAL OF ENGLISH HISTORY. By Edward M. Lancaster, Principal of the Gilbert Stuart School, Boston. Revised Edition. Cloth, 334 pp. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

This is a convenient text-book for the use of schools "whose limited time forbids an extended course of study." While tables of dynasties and important dates are given, the emphasis is laid on the reasons for the real history-making events, rather than on superficial details. This is always the most important feature in historical writing, and one not recognized at anything like its real worth until very recent years. Although not a great deal can be done in a small text-book in explaining the logical development of cause and effect in history, yet it is something to have a thread of continuity traced through the seeming maze of events,—reigns, wars, conquests, reforms and changing conditions of industry, government and religion. This is fairly well attained in Prof. Lancaster's book.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

##### *ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC*

*Economic Crises.* By Edward D. Jones, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Economics and Commercial Geography, University of Wisconsin. Cloth, 251 pp., \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*Politics and Administration.* A Study in Government. By Frank J. Goodnow, A.M., LL.D., of Columbia University. Cloth, 270 pp., \$1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York. Points out the differences between our theoretical system of government and its actual operation, also the changes necessary to make the two more nearly correspond.

## FROM AUGUST MAGAZINES

"Helen once attempted to put all Scotland into five words—Scott, Burns, heather, whiskey, and religion. In Iowa you pack the thing tighter. Three nouns are enough: corn, cow, and hog!"—ROLLIN LYNDE HARTT in "The Iowans," *Atlantic Monthly*.

"If ridicule and parody, if jibes and jeers, could bring home to Mr. Austin the pathetic absurdity of his position, he would long ago have learned to minimize it by a resolute silence. Fortunately for himself, unfortunately for his country, a sense of humor has been denied him. Praised by none, derided by all, he pipes on imperturbable. It is this very doggedness, in itself sublime, which makes the nation ridiculous. Wherefore I ask: How long are we fated to grin and bear it?"—WILLIAM ARCHER in "Quousque Tandem?" *The Critic*.

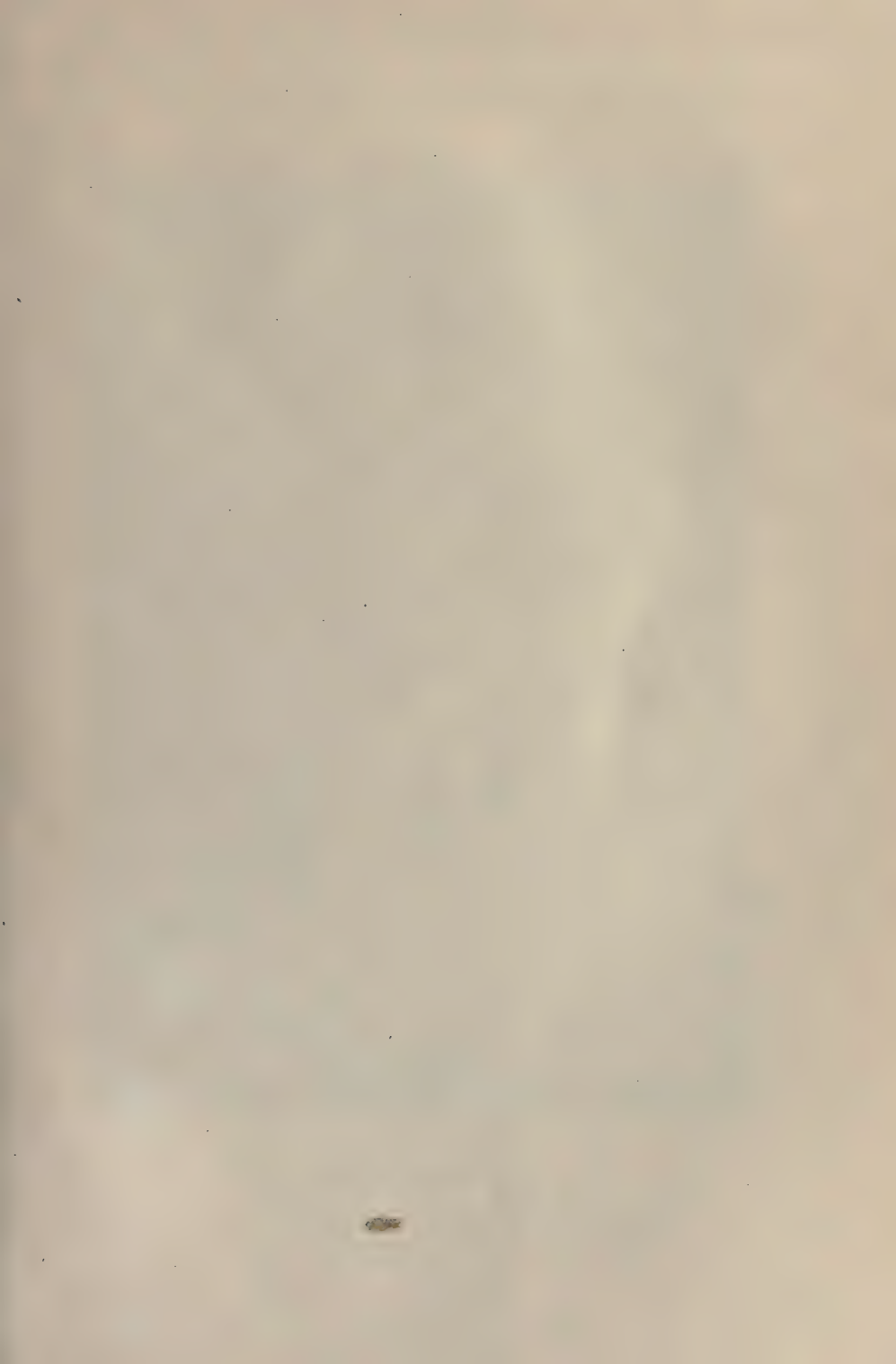
"Great Britain's course in the past has been one calculated to promote the best interests of humanity. Such will be her course in the future; and vast, unreclaimed regions of the earth, such as the dark, unappropriated portions of Africa, will yet fall under her sway. The faster this destiny is fulfilled, the better for the inhabitants, and for the interests of humanity generally. Her colonial rule is a just and a beneficent one. She holds the scale of justice with even hand, and sedulously seeks to promote the interests of the people who come under her sway, and to develop the resources and increase the wealth of the lands over which her flag floats."—JOHN CHARLTON, in "Canada and Imperialism," *The Forum*.

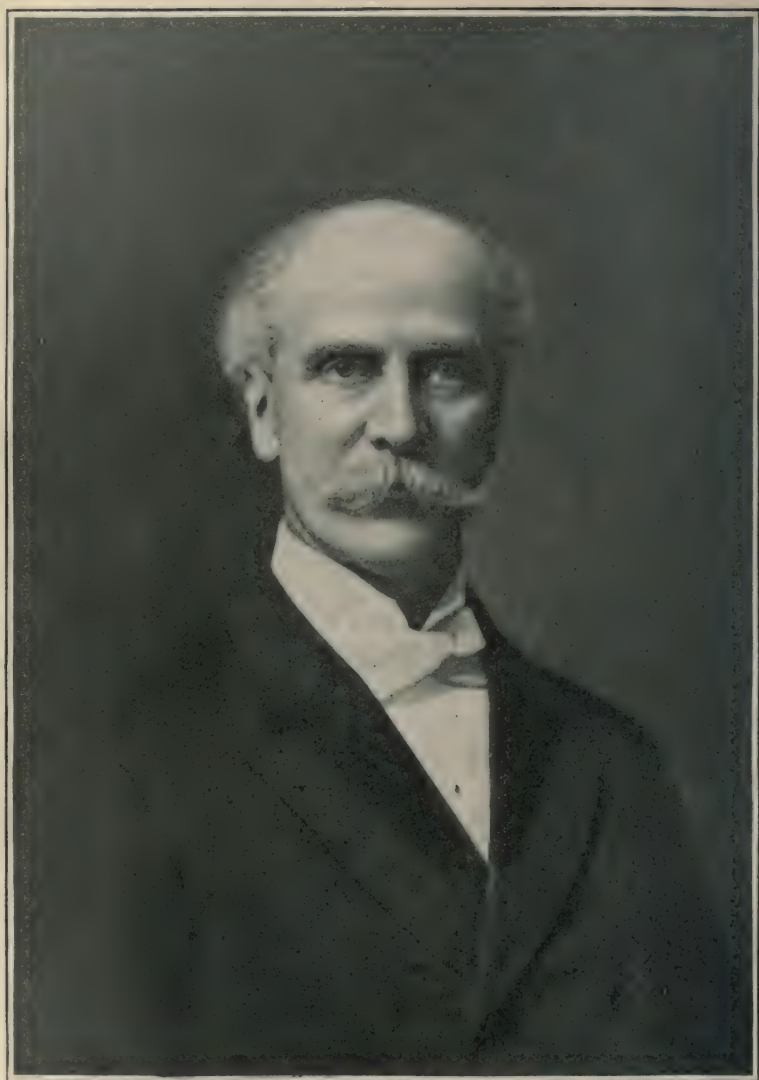
"It is unthinkable that any one should seriously wish to pick a quarrel at this late day with the new quickening interests of women's lives. The subject has passed beyond the province of discussion. Never-



theless it is an assured fact that if we were to have only busy women in the future, and women hurried and harried, the whole of life would be incomparably the poorer for us. Somewhere in the stress and strain of endeavor and advance there must be stopping-places. . . . There must be intervals, however few and far between, for the deeper, stiller inhalations, that bring renewal and refreshment, and enable one to start again, and start straight. Those centers, those intervals, it has always been the primary and essential function of women to render possible; and it must ever be. It belongs to them alone to perform that function, and if they omit to do so there is nothing to make good the loss."—RICHARD WATSON GILDER, in "Topics of the Time," *The Century*.

"While the merchant is not permitted to lease land in China and reside inland, the right of missionaries to do so is now well established. This remarkable anomaly is due to the fact that a French missionary, who was employed as an interpreter, surreptitiously introduced into the Chinese text of the supplementary treaty of 1860 between France and China the following clause: 'It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure.' This clause was not discovered by the Chinese government until it was too late to disavow it without losing face. The French missionaries promptly acted upon the right thus secured, and the English and American missionaries did not hesitate to claim the same right under the most favored nation clause. Subsequently the Chinese government, under pressure from the powers, formally acknowledged the right of missionaries of all nationalities to reside inland for the purpose of propagating Christianity."—MARK B. DUNNELL, in "Our Rights in China," *Atlantic Monthly*.





JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D.

*President Oberlin College*



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

### **The National Campaign**

Compared with 1896, the political contest this year has been singularly free from excitement thus far, and the old complaint about disturbance of business conditions has had comparatively little justification. That this condition may indicate dangerous overconfidence is a possibility that seems to be disturbing the republican campaign managers, especially in view of the decreased republican vote in recent state elections. Republican governors were chosen in Vermont and Maine on September 4th and 10th, by majorities of about 30,000 and 33,500 respectively. In Vermont the republican total vote was about 7,000 less than in 1896, while the democrats gained 2,000; in Maine the republican vote was some 6,000 less than in 1896 while the democrats polled nearly 9,000 more. In both cases the republican majority was much larger than the average for many years past, nevertheless the democrats are entitled to make comparisons with 1896 in estimating possible changes from that year throughout the country. This should be remembered, however, that in a year when political excitement is running low it is impossible not to have decreased majorities in states where the result is certain, and such decreases are not a reliable sign of what may occur in close and pivotal states. That this is the real explanation of the Vermont and Maine re-

sults is quite clear from the fact that in Arkansas, one of the sure democratic states, the majority of the dominant party in the recent state election was very greatly reduced.

The active campaigning, so far as candidates are concerned, is being done by Colonel Bryan and Governor Roosevelt,—the former in the central western states, the latter chiefly in the northwest. Gov. Roosevelt is speaking chiefly on the "imperialism" issue, pushing the idea of our absolute right of sovereignty quite to its technical limit, and so perhaps putting the republican case on weaker ground than if he would devote himself to showing, first, the impossibility of changing our immediate Philippine policy, second, the essential similarity between the present policy and the democratic proposition to establish "first, a stable form of government." This is just what the administration is trying to do, however many the mistakes it made in the beginning of the Philippine complication, and, since the future of the islands is yet to be determined by congress whichever party wins, the importance of the whole "expansion" issue dwindles to meager proportions.

On the other hand, Mr. Bryan could greatly strengthen his case by pointing out the serious mistakes of the administration in the Philippines, especially in the early days of our occupation, arguing from this that the republicans ought not to be trusted with the future solution of the problem, and not waste his oratory on the ridiculous idea that President McKinley and his party are trying to undermine republican institutions and practically establish an empire. In the light of Mr. McKinley's familiar personal characteristics, such a suggestion savors more of the campaign joke than of serious argument. Without a doubt, the president and the republican organization would wel-

come nothing more gladly than a chance to put the Filipinos in the way of practically complete self-government at the earliest possible moment. Whatever the future may develop, there is no danger to democratic institutions in the present attitude of the administration, and for Mr. Bryan to bear down on this, while his own party in the South is perpetrating the only really serious menace to political freedom within the republic, is transparent political humbug.

"Imperialism" is the sort of indictment, however, that the administration has invited by the errors of its Philippine policy. A few democrats of conspicuous prominence, like Carl Schurz and Richard Olney, both of whom supported President McKinley in 1896, have declared for Mr. Bryan on the ground that the dangers of expansion outweigh the danger of free silver. Mr. Olney's views, as expressed in a long letter published about the middle of August, are in marked contrast to those outlined in his article last March in the *Atlantic Monthly*, when he declared, regarding our new acquisitions: "The islands are ours as much as Massachusetts or Illinois, and not to maintain the integrity of American soil everywhere and against all comers would deservedly expose us to universal contempt and derision."

**The Letters of  
Acceptance**

As the election approaches there are signs of reviving alarm over the possibility of a silver standard in case of Mr. Bryan's success. This alarm has been increased by the candidate's letter of acceptance, published September 17th. Imperialism is discussed only in the closing paragraph, and it receives hardly one-third of the amount of space devoted to the silver question in the first part of the document. He reaffirms in the strongest language his allegiance to free silver coinage 16 to 1, and expressly



indicates that its early accomplishment depends only on whether the next congress is democratic.

Mr. Bryan could hardly please the administration better than by shifting his campaign to the silver and trust issues; this will have the effect of holding most of the gold democrats to the republican ticket, however they may dislike the expansion policy. The president's letter of acceptance, published September 10th, is largely a reply to Mr. Bryan's Indianapolis speech, and is by far the strongest document the republicans have or are likely to have at their disposal during the campaign. It is a careful, dignified, and in the main statesmanlike paper, reading more like a message to congress than a political appeal, and in all parts except the account of the beginning of the Filipino rebellion it is clear and complete. Mr. McKinley quotes liberally from the instructions issued to our officers in the Philippines at every stage of the proceedings, and even from the famous order of December 21, 1898, to General Otis, directing him to proclaim to the Filipinos that the United States had assumed complete sovereignty over the islands and that our military rule would be "extended with all possible dispatch to the whole of the ceded territory," without a hint of future independence. This proclamation, given to the Filipinos a month before the treaty of peace was ratified, was modified and toned down by General Otis, but they obtained copies of the original document, and without question it was the direct cause of the outbreak of hostilities. Aguinaldo immediately issued a reply, declaring that his people would resist any attempt to carry out its provisions. That there was no rightful authority for our proclamation is evident from the president's own statement, since made in a public address at Pittsburg, that: "Until the treaty was ratified we had no authority beyond Manila city, bay and harbor." Had this

fact been recognized and observed in December, 1898, hostilities would probably not have broken out, and the treaty would never have been confirmed, unless with an amendment making the Philippine policy just like that adopted towards Cuba.

Unsatisfactory as this part of the president's letter is, Mr. Bryan is scarcely less free from a large share of original responsibility for the Philippine situation, since it was by his influence that the treaty secured just enough votes for confirmation. The accounts being nearly even on that score, the only real issue to-day has to do with future policy, and, as we have already pointed out, there is substantially no difference between the democratic and republican propositions,—a stable government first, and congress to decide what shall be done next. Such being the case, the menace Mr. Bryan offers to financial stability and industrial prosperity is the real factor that ought to guide the decision of gold-standard democrats and anti-expansion republicans. Free silver and industrial paralysis are too big a price to pay for the privilege of rebuking the administration for mistakes which the opposition could at present do nothing more than is already being done to correct. Congress may and in our belief ought to provide for the independence of the islands, but that is in the future; it is not the real issue to-day.

New York  
State  
Politics

The political situation in New York state is an edifying illustration of the agility of local political machines in taking advantage of popular absorption in national issues, to make headway that would be impossible in years when popular scrutiny is centered on their ingenious operations. In the "off" year 1898 the republican organization was quite unable to prevent Colonel Roosevelt's nomination, much as it disliked him. In 1900, having

adroitly promoted the side-tracking of Mr. Roosevelt on the national ticket, a candidate for governor is named in his stead who can be relied upon not to make the mistake of assuming that he is really governor in any emergency where another prefers to occupy the chair. Mr. Odell, nominated by the republican convention at Saratoga on September 5th, is personally unobjectionable, but his entire claim to public attention is based on faithfulness to the party machine. If he has any views on public policy, beyond "endorsing" party platforms, he is excessively economical of them so far as the public is concerned. He seems to have no intention of entering the contest in any other capacity than his familiar role of campaign manager,—a useful function, but one seldom associated with statesmanship.

On the other hand, Mr. John B. Stanchfield, named for governor by the democrats at Syracuse, September 12th, while owing his nomination to Richard Croker, is not necessarily mortgaged to the Tammany "boss." Indeed, if anything the obligation is the other way. Mr. Croker was engaged in a desperate fight for political supremacy with ex-Senator Hill. The latter had made himself the special champion of the young and independent controller of New York city, Bird S. Coler, for the governorship nomination, and at one time seemed very near success. Probably no democrat in the state would have been less satisfactory to Tammany than Controller Coler as governor, and to prevent his nomination Mr. Croker took up the cause of a man whose whole political affiliation has been with the "up-state" anti-Tammany democrats, a friend of Mr. Hill, a gold-standard man and an expansionist. Probably Croker would have failed with a New York city candidate, but by adding the Tammany strength to Mr. Stanchfield's up-state support he won the day. Con-



ceivably, Mr. Stanchfield may, if elected, become the political servant either of Tammany or of David B. Hill, but he is under little obligation in either direction.

The situation is especially unfortunate, because under Governor Roosevelt a number of new lines of legislation have been started that ought to be continued and strengthened. There is little friendliness in the republican organization to the new franchise tax law, and little sympathy with the governor's exertions in behalf of labor and sweatshop reforms. Retrogression may be expected on the tax law at least in case of Mr. Odell's election. On the other hand, for Mr. Stanchfield, the candidate of a convention that went into a panic over an ice-trust resolution offered by Professor Lee of Cornell, because most of the Tammany leaders are stockholders in the ice trust, to make a campaign of speech-making against "trusts," brings his canvass down to the level almost of burlesque. Nevertheless, the probability is that very many republicans, while supporting the national ticket, will take this opportunity of notifying the party organization in New York that they will not tolerate having second- and third-rate candidates foisted upon them whenever a chink or cranny of opportunity opens. A different result in the state from that in the national election would mean, unmistakably, that the necessary condition of party success is constantly to recognize the best spirit and wishes of the people, and make nominations on the statesmanlike principle that: "He serves his party best who serves his country best."

**Indecision  
in China**

Peking was entered by the allies on August 15th, and the five weeks that have passed away since then have been a period of waiting, uncertainty, and fruitless attempts

to begin peace negotiations. The Japanese cavalry failed to overtake and capture the emperor and empress dowager, who seem to have established a temporary capital at Tai-Yuen-Fu, in Shan-si province in the far interior. From this point they have been trying to negotiate for peace, chiefly through Li Hung Chang, whose credentials have finally been recognized in effect at least by the powers. How little the empress dowager has learned from recent events appears from her effort to appoint several radical anti-foreign envoys to act with Li Hung Chang. With these men the powers of course declined to treat, and the latest advices indicate that they have been withdrawn and Prince Ching, a Manchu of the royal family but predisposed to fairness at least, authorized to act with Li Hung Chang for the imperial government.

It is a fair question whether conditions are yet ripe for peace negotiations. Boxer outbreaks still threaten the lives and property of foreigners in China. About the middle of August serious disturbances occurred in southern China, in the vicinity of Amoy; several missions were burned and it is feared that many foreigners were killed. The landing of a Japanese force at Amoy seems to have quieted this outbreak, for the troops were withdrawn in less than two weeks, but even in the neighborhood of Peking and Tien-Tsin danger is still threatened. A hard battle was fought near Tien-Tsin on August 19th,—Americans, Japanese and British defeating a considerable force of Boxers, while encounters have been almost constant to the west and south of Peking.

Looting by

Foreign Troops

Within Peking, a temporary military government has been set up and the troops have been doing police duty, varied with what Dr. Morrison of the London *Times*

calls "systematic looting,"—to the shame of civilization be it recorded. Similar reports come from Tien-Tsin, and every fresh bit of evidence on this line simply helps by that much to discredit Christendom's interference policy and strengthen the Chinese side of the case. For an enterprise undertaken in behalf of civilization and humanity to drop promptly into pillage and devastation saps the moral strength of the whole proceeding. It entitles Chinese apologists to point the finger of scorn. It is easy to understand how invading soldiers, fresh from victory over a fanatical and cruel foe, and seeing on every hand the results of Boxer ravages, would most naturally act in the spirit of revenge and repay outrage with outrage, but for the military authorities of the allies to permit such proceedings is inexplicable. To say that it could not be helped entitles the Chinese to retort: Very well, if your organized and disciplined armies cannot be held in check by their own officers, how can you demand a penalty from us for failing to restrain these hordes of Boxers who recognize no authority? The government, to be sure, was aiding and not restraining the Boxers, nevertheless the Chinese are entitled to throw this reproach in the face of Christendom. We can only hope that the reports have been exaggerated and that stern measures were and are being applied. At least it seems assured, from the replies to inquiries made at once by our war department, that American soldiers were not implicated in the looting of Tien-Tsin; and it is hard to believe that the same will not prove true of our men in Peking when the facts become known.

Much complaint has been directed against  
the Washington government and the  
powers in general because of the slowness and seeming vacillation in the settlement proceed-

Ought the Powers  
to Withdraw?



ings. The movement for relief of the legations was so prompt and successful that the delay since then is indeed vexatious and tiresome by comparison; nevertheless, the criticisms seem to us largely unfounded. The time for prompt action is when immediate danger is threatened, but, when order and safety are assured, and a problem of such vast significance as the future of China is presented, there must and ought to be deliberation and a clear understanding of the case. The first definite proposition came from Russia, late in August, expressing that government's intention to withdraw its ministers and troops from Peking, and hoping that the other powers would follow. Our state department promptly forwarded the Russian note to the other powers, giving it approval, with the qualification—"unless there is such a general expression by the powers in favor of continued occupation as to modify the views expressed by the government of Russia and lead to a general agreement for continued occupation."

The withdrawal plan met with little favor. France agreed to it, but Germany and England definitely declined. The Washington government has therefore suggested informally a modified plan, providing that part of the troops be withdrawn to, say Tien Tsin, but not from China, leaving in Peking a garrison sufficient to preserve order and protect foreigners and native Christians until regular government is reestablished. This compromise suggestion, while not definitely agreed to so far as is known at present, seems to have been favorably received; at any rate there is to be no complete evacuation of the Chinese capital yet. The powers are now submitting independent propositions direct to Li Hung Chang. Russia, so it is reported, has demanded that the emperor personally resume the throne, that the empress dowager be shut out from all influence in the government, and that the punishment

of Prince Tuan and other Boxer leaders be guaranteed. Lord Salisbury, according to the Shanghai correspondent of the London *Daily Express*, has informed Earl Li that the emperor must return to Peking before peace negotiations begin; also that "nothing would divert them [the British] from their irrevocable intention of punishing those responsible for the outrages, whom they would, if necessary, pursue over all China." Germany takes practically the same position, but goes farther and demands the punishment of the Boxer leaders before peace negotiations commence.

**Attitude of the  
United States**

It is natural that our government should be anxious to terminate its part in the complication as soon as possible and get out of China, but we might far better stand with England and Germany in specific demands for settlement than lend any further encouragement to Russia's plan of withdrawal. For the United States to side with Russia, the most advanced republic with one of the most backward despotisms, is unnatural and grotesque in itself, irrespective of the superior merit of the English and German decision to remain for the present in Peking. Driving the Chinese government out of Peking was the act of the strong arm, and nothing but the strong arm can now finish the task and restore conditions tolerable to civilization. We had our share in the first step,—we ought not to shirk our part in the last. With a real grip on the situation once obtained, it is folly to surrender it until a permanently satisfactory adjustment is reached. To withdraw entirely would lead to separate action by the powers, perhaps to war and partition of China. Possibly this is just what Russia wants. It is significant that the czar's armies are pursuing a campaign in Manchuria with remarkable vigor, gaining footholds that no other power can duplicate.

Our government could hardly do better, as the situation now stands, than to leave at least a respectable garrison in Peking. While we need not join Germany's extreme demand that the Boxer leaders be punished before any negotiations are begun, we ought to insist upon such punishment, together with a return of the emperor to Peking, as a part of the final conditions of peace, and at the same time we might well support Russia in one demand at least, that the empress dowager be excluded from all further influence. Kwang Su, the emperor, is a man of liberal tendencies and has several times given evidence that if clothed with real power he would expel the anti-foreign fanatics from his court. With the emperor restored and the progressive elements of the nation associated in the conduct of the government, there ought to be little danger of further trouble and little delay in the restoration of peace.

**The Galveston  
Calamity**

The almost complete destruction of the city of Galveston on Saturday, September 8th, by tornado and flood, was one of the most appalling calamities ever visited upon a human community by any of nature's swift engines of destruction. The loss of life, by the latest reports, will exceed 6,000, while the damage to property is more than \$20,000,000. Scarcely one of the large buildings in the city—public, business, educational, religious or charitable—was left standing, and practically none of the dwellings and stores escaped damage of some sort. The railroad bridges connecting Galveston with the mainland were swept away, most of the great steamship piers were destroyed, and the beach was lined with the wreckage of all kinds of shipping, large and small. An official report submitted to the governor of Texas five days after the disaster declared that "the city is practically wrecked for all time to come."



That the two short weeks since intervening have completely discredited this prophecy shows a recuperative power worthy to match the overwhelming destructive force of the tempest itself. Within twenty-four hours, supplies and money contributions were hurrying to Galveston from all over the country, and almost immediately the work of regeneration began. United States troops were promptly dispatched to the city and martial law proclaimed until the danger of looting was over, while a threatened pestilence was averted by the wonderful rapidity and vigor of the cleaning-up efforts and lavish use of disinfectants. Within a week the relief contributions amounted to over one million dollars,—New York city's share alone reaching nearly \$300,000. The Red Cross workers, headed by Miss Barton in person, were early on the ground and are once more signally justifying the existence of their organization.

Thus organized human society can at least minimize the results of what it cannot prevent, although it is not yet certain that Galveston's future will take the direction that had seemed so clearly mapped out for it. Whether or not the Southern Pacific railway decides to rebuild its piers and construct the proposed new ones will determine largely whether Galveston or New Orleans becomes the chief grain-shipping point for the great Southwest. Even if Galveston should be abandoned as too dangerous a port for this purpose, the city will be rebuilt, perhaps on higher and better protected ground, and will certainly enter upon a new career of progress.

Russell and  
Huntington

Alike in little else, perhaps, Baron  
Russell of Killowen and Collis P.  
Huntington, the American capitalist,  
are conspicuous examples of success won strictly

by personal energy and ability. Their careers are chapters in the history of individualism. The lord chief justice of England, who died August 10th at the age of 67, was born and educated in Ireland, a member of parliament in the early 80's, twice attorney-general under Mr. Gladstone, and in 1893 was the successful counsel for Great Britain in the Bering Sea controversy with the United States, tried before the Paris arbitration tribunal. This service brought him a life peerage and led to his appointment as chief justice to succeed Lord Coleridge in 1894. In politics he was a liberal.

Collis Potter Huntington, who died on August 14th at his summer camp in the Adirondacks, was of a type that has become familiar by many examples as distinctly American. Born in Connecticut 78 years ago, starting in life practically without means, and early developing a small mercantile business, he went as a merchant to California in '49, and ten years later, in company with Leland Stanford, took up the project of the Pacific Railroad. He risked his personal means in surveys and early expenses, and became the first vice-president of the Central Pacific in 1861. Mr. Huntington then came east and worked indefatigably to secure the passage of the Pacific Railroad bill, which conferred land grants and loaned government bonds to the enterprise. The raising of the first necessary construction funds from New York capitalists was perhaps his greatest service in the development of a transcontinental railroad. That really is what converted the enterprise from a dream of enthusiasts into a vast practical reality. The rest of his career, spent chiefly in the East, is substantially the history of the growth and development of the Central and Southern Pacific systems, the material benefit of which to the nation has exceeded by a hundredfold his personal fortune accumulated from the undertaking, large as it is.

## THE COMING REGENERATION OF CHINA

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The present interest in the affairs of the far East may well be utilized for a better acquaintance with the fundamental characteristics of Chinese life. The deeper our knowledge of "things Chinese," the stronger will be our conviction both of the importance of the Celestial Empire and the necessity of its regeneration. The time has already passed when intelligent people of the western world are wont to regard the Chinese as mere ethnologic curiosities. We have been accustomed to contrast the Japanese, with their quickness and their splendid aptitudes for science and progress, with the sluggish and conservative Chinese. Still, the people of Japan are, in not a few respects, inferior to the more persistent and creative minds of their foes. It was from China that the Japanese for centuries received and repeated the thoughts and arts which made them what they were before the advent of western ideas. One cannot take even a brief glimpse of the port cities of China without gaining a vivid impression of the vastness of the ancient empire which lies back of the iron-bound sea coast.

According to Professor Albert Réville, there are only two civilizations in the world—ours and the Chinese. That of China is unparalleled in history in its tenacious vitality. There is danger, however, that in coming to a new conception of the Chinese phenom-



enon, and in cataloguing the good and bad elements of Chinese life, we may fail to grasp what is central and distinctive in the history of the Celestial Empire. It had no true knowledge of God. It completed its development ages ago. It is mechanical and earthly. It is slavishly turned to the past. The ethical and religious ideas and ideals are the essential elements, and these must be understood if one is to comprehend in any measure the retrogressive character of Chinese "civilization." It is a common remark of the thoughtless that the Chinese should be let alone, especially by the Christian missionaries. The work of the merchant and the trader does not call forth any bitter complaints, but not a few feel that the missionary is an offensive disturber of the peace who ought to be restrained. One statesman of eminence and some writers of distinction have given expression to unfriendly words for those who are really the chief hope of the future of China. It is not unnatural that men who believe that Christianity is not the supreme and absolute religion should cherish the conviction that missionaries ought not engage in work among the unfriendly Chinese. Those, however, who recognize Christianity's claim to universal supremacy as rightful, while believing in the past usefulness of ethnic religions, cannot be kept from seeing reasons and obligations many and mighty why the Christian missionary should enter in amid the superstitions and false ideals of non-Christian peoples.

Without arguing elaborately the rightfulness of the Christian contention, it may be said that the religion of Christ was meant for all the earth. The Founder of Christianity evidently believed that He was the Saviour and King of the world, and He infused into His followers from the beginning the conviction that the Christian message was for all mankind. They made it their business to carry to Jew and Greek, to Roman and

Egyptian, to Arab and Spaniard, to German and Gaul, the message of divine love and life contained in the Gospel. In time the nations reached by Christianity became the most civilized, progressive and powerful peoples. After nineteen centuries, Christendom and civilization are nearly synonymous terms. The word "civilization" in its highest meaning cannot be applied with exactness to any non-Christian people. According to the late lord chief justice of England, Baron Russell, "the true signs of civilization are, among other things, thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for woman, the frank recognition of human brotherhood irrespective of race or color or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force, as the governing factor in the world, the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice." The cruelty and fanaticism prevailing among the Mohammedans, together with the systematic degradation of womanhood, put the empire of Islam out of truly civilized life. India, in spite of her intellectual greatness, is so enslaved by the diabolism of caste which makes human brotherhood impossible, and is so degraded by the abject life of the great mass of its people, and, furthermore, is so out of harmony with any true ideas of the family life, that, apart from the Christian elements which have entered into modern India, it hardly deserves to rank among civilized peoples.

The Christian missionaries, becoming familiar with the mental habits of the Chinese, are deeply convinced that what China needs is fundamental reconstruction. From facing backward it must be made to face forward. It must be delivered from superstitious slavery to its own low ideals; its iron wall of exclusiveness must be broken down, the seeds of progressive life must be planted in the people's minds. It is historically demon-

strable that no forces can bring about the needed change except those which come from the truth and spirit of Christianity. Recently we have been hearing frequent echoes from the mission-fields of the Orient. They have stirred a variety of buzzing noises in the ears of the American people. Not infrequently we learn from the journals and from wiseacres who are not writers for newspapers, the startling intelligence that the missionaries are very largely responsible for the present trouble in China. We are not always told that they are guilty in this matter, but doubtless many feel that they ought to have known better! The worshippers of Diana felt in the same way toward the Apostle Paul and his Christian helpers in ancient Ephesus. There was complaint by the idolaters of Asia that St. Paul and his companions were turning the world upside down. It ought to be plain to all understandings that it is the mission of the Gospel, not through force or revolution, but by spiritual enlightenment, to change all heathen society until it becomes a part of the kingdom of righteousness and love.

Out of the present agitation and confusion some things will be made clear when all the facts are known. The first is this: that the chief cause of the recent savage uprising of deluded Chinese patriotism against foreigners is not the missionaries and their teaching, but the cruel selfishness, the deliberate and despotic robbery and diabolic greed of which so-called "Christian Powers" have been guilty. They have forced the deadly opium-traffic upon China at the mouth of the cannon. When a few years ago I sailed from Ceylon to Saigon in French China, I discovered, when the cargo was unloaded, that it consisted mostly of great boxes of opium from Benares, and I felt that this deadly cargo was a fearful condemnation of the crude selfishness of Great Britain. Foreign merchants and Chris-



tian governments having years ago sowed the wind are to-day reaping the whirlwind.

The bad name which the West has gained in the East is due to several peoples. Doubtless the early Dutch adventurers had some share in "blackening the reputation of Europe in the East." Spain has much to answer for in massacring the Chinese traders who came in large numbers after the great commercial expansion which followed her seizure of the Philippine Islands in the sixteenth century. Savage butcheries of Chinese have been frequent occurrences in the dealings of Europe, and the latest is of very recent years. The Chinese people have many a just grievance against Christendom. Western nations have stolen Chinese ports and territory and threatened the dismemberment of the oldest, proudest, most exclusive empire on the globe. Nations do not enjoy having their territory stolen. In putting China's side of the case a recent writer has well said: "Would we not fight if the European powers should proceed to apportion the United States between them? But this is just what these powers have done with China. She has already lost all her finest harbors."

One who has made a careful study of this Asiatic phenomenon has written: "Wonder grows into amazement, curiosity into awe, when you learn that this is in many respects the most remarkable civilization the world has known. Its antiquity seems like that of the eternal hills. The beginnings are lost in the darkness of early Accadian and Egyptian days. It saw the empires of the ancient world blaze up in all their brief brilliancy—Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome. It saw them die out and pass into oblivion, but it went its way unchanged. 'And while the Britons still wore skins, the Chinese wore silks.'" China has received little from the outside; she has developed her own life.

Early in Christian history she received Buddhism, and that is the only foreign influence which she has ever welcomed. Long ago she boasted a great literature and important inventions and discoveries. She believed herself to be the first of nations, and to her outsiders were barbarians.

Whatever the variations in language and interest of the Chinese people, the instinct of unity has not been wanting. Amid all the changes which have occurred in the outer world, this instinct has remained, and the result has been a unique phenomenon. While other empires have fallen not to rise again, and while China herself has been torn again and again, this most populous of nations has not forgotten the early ideal, the ideal of a united and peaceful empire. This has been the star of her darkest night.

It is characteristic of the unsympathetic brutality with which some western people approach eastern problems that a book should have been written on the dismemberment of China. It seems to be the policy, or rather the lack of policy, of some of our European writers and statesmen to give as great offence as possible to the proud and sensitive Oriental. Now that America has become an Asiatic power it is to be hoped that American tact, such as has been conspicuously displayed by the present national administration, will teach a lesson of wisdom. When the scales of justice weigh the misdemeanors which have resulted in the recent collision, the missionaries will not receive a large measure of condemnation.

Another fact to be noticed and to be made clear is this: that the Christian missionaries in China have steadily opposed and denounced the gigantic sins by which the superstitious and patriotic Chinese have been maddened. The missionaries have stood by the Chinese people in defending their national integrity and in

fighting the deadly opium and liquor traffics. The most earnest champions of justice and fairness in western dealings with Asia have been found among the apostles of Christian evangelism. They have seen and felt that the great hindrance to the progress of Christianity has been western injustice and inconsistency. As the missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands strove to protect the people, whom they were elevating, from the brutality of European sailors, so the missionaries in Asia to-day are opposing whatever iniquity has found entrance into Asiatic countries from European sources. I have learned from Americans long resident in Peking that the gross licentiousness of many Europeans living in China is a theme of constant and bitter remark. Every student of Asiatic problems is aware that there is no great amount of sympathy between the missionary who represents a pure Christianity and the often ignoble European populations who abound in Oriental cities. If one wishes to learn the truth about missions, he will know where *not* to find it after he has become acquainted with the habits of unworthy representatives of Christian nations to be found in the port cities of Asia. Another fact is this: that the missionaries are not particularly obnoxious to the Chinese. All foreigners are, in some measure, detested, but the missionaries have more friends usually than the merchants.

Some anti-Christian American writers are to-day pouring out their scorn upon the work of the missionary, getting their misinformation largely from un-Christian sources. They tell us that the missionary is a menace to China, that Christianity stands for treason, or a flat denial of everything distinctively Chinese. This is an inconsiderate assertion; it needs modification. There are not a few points in which Confucian and Christian morality are at one, but there are some things Chinese which Christianity must ever oppose. I am not



affirming that wisdom and good sense characterize all our missionary operations in China. The Christian heralds in the Celestial Empire doubtless have made grievous mistakes, and the same indictment can be made against them which can be made against the churches of Europe and America. The bigotry of some Christian missionaries in China is notorious. I agree with the critics who affirm that the missionaries who set about their task by announcing that "Confucius is in hell" have no right to be in China at all. The missionaries are not harmonious, or at least not united; not all of them are philosophers and sages, and they might accomplish a greater work if they had greater wisdom! But this is not a severe indictment. On the other hand, think of the self-denial, the courage, the persistency and unselfishness which the missionaries in China illustrate. Think of the patience and kindness and constant benevolence of the thousands who are giving their lives to make men better in the Orient. Think of the hospitals and dispensaries, the multitudes of children who have been taught the Christian Scriptures, the higher ideals of family purity which have been held up and illustrated, and the magnificent examples of Christian manhood and womanhood which they have shown before the eyes of a suspicious and superstitious people.

There is splendid fiber among the Chinese, and when the Gospel does get a strong hold of the heart of one of these strange people it makes a noble man of him. The Chinaman shows gratitude to an unusual degree. I know of one case of an American missionary who, when he left his work a few years ago for a much-needed furlough in his own country, was accompanied on his journey by scores of faithful and weeping Chinese who felt that they were losing a spiritual father and who parted from him as the Ephesian elders parted from St. Paul at Miletus. Dr. Martin of Peking, who,

according to Chinese testimony, has had the unique distinction among missionary scholars of mingling on terms of perfect equality with Chinese dukes and statesmen, has informed us that the preaching of the Gospel would not provoke the Chinese people unless they had been stirred up by the malice of the mandarins. The ruling classes of course oppose the missionary. They must do so in self-protection. Their robberies and rascalities get no sympathy or regard from the Christian teacher.

But, whether the Chinese and the apologist for Chinese hostility to missionaries oppose or not, the Gospel will still be preached, new avenues will be opened and wider opportunities granted. It is of course the duty of Christian governments to continue to protect not only ambassadors, but also merchants and missionaries who are in China under international treaties and international law. I am confident that public opinion in America and Europe will demand new protection for those who represent the unselfishness of Christendom and for those among the Chinese who accept the truths of Christianity. Reparation must be made for the burning of Christian property and the destruction of Christian lives. Best of all, there will be both in China and in America a clearer perception of the unselfishness and brave devotion of those who for love of their Divine Master and their fellowmen have undertaken the greatest task which ever called forth the energies of Christian disciples since the Church began its aggressive work in the empire of ancient Rome. We are already getting preliminary reports of the self-denying heroism of missionaries who seem not to have cared for their own lives so much as for the lives of the imperilled native Christians.

Out of the angry and bloody chaos which has threatened the peace of the world will come, among

other things, a general perception of the fact that Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in China have all been gigantic failures. Whatever good things may be said of China we must not forget that the empire is dominated by the iron rule of exclusiveness and hatred of the light. To Confucius China was the world, and to Confucians China is "all under Heaven." The Chinese wall is a symbol of the hostility which the empire feels towards the outside nations. Worshipping the past it abominates progress. The nation is rightly described as "an old man lying in its cradle." It is the hugest expanse of undeveloped human cabbages growing in a graveyard to be found on the face of the earth. Its most prevalent form of worship is the worship of ancestors. The spirits of the dead rule this nation from their urns.

Joined with this exclusiveness is slavery to the most horrible superstitions. It is a common belief that Chinese wives and children are cut to pieces by foreign physicians to make medicine out of their bones and eyes. Chinese believe that western doctors can cast spells over them and destroy their health. And those who have led the "Boxers" have taught their fanatical followers to believe that the case is now somewhat reversed and that the Chinese patriots are impervious to western bullets. With a national life, which in some of its phases appears to be admirable and dominated by intelligence, is linked a superstition as tyrannical and degraded as that of African savages.

Again, it must not be forgotten that the Chinese, beyond any other people in the world, are ruled by the law of cruelty. The cruelty practiced upon children, especially girls, the cruelty which is the lot of women and the cruelty which is meted out to the criminal, make the scenes of Chinese life vast, unending tragedies. There can scarcely be any more decisive evi-



dence of the failure of Buddhism to make men humane than the Chinese punishments in courts of justice, wherein the executions are terrible massacres which would almost shame the Spanish inquisition.

We are now getting a clear understanding of the fact that falsehood is a national Chinese accomplishment. Day after day for months the world has been deluged with Chinese lies. On the part of the government lying is an almost constant practice. When the allied armies burst into Peking to rescue the ambassadors and fought their way through the streets, the Chinese government gave out word that they were welcomed by the officials who came to the great gates to greet them! When, a few years ago, the dowager empress received visits from the wives of foreign ambassadors, it was thought by them that this was a great step forward—an indication that the reign of exclusiveness was ending. Some of our missionaries, however, were not surprised that the announcement was made by the Chinese government that the wives of foreign ambassadors had gone to the palace and paid homage to the empress! In China it is no insult to call a man a liar. Of course dishonesty is practically universal in official classes. Out of every thousand officials, according to all the testimony that comes to us, nine hundred and ninety-nine are perfectly corrupt. China appears to be one huge sponge “where every man is sure to be squeezed or to be bent on squeezing.” Henry Norman tells, what all who know anything of China believe, that every Chinese official, with the possible exception of one in a thousand, is not only a liar but also a thief and a tyrant. The enormous riches of the Chinese Bismarck, Li Hung Chang, have been obtained by means like those by which Turkish generals plunder huge provinces.

Another indication of the fact that China needs re-

generation is this: that she has little idea of true altruism; she cannot believe the explanation which the missionary gives of his presence among Chinese people. The Christian teacher informs them that he is among the Chinese simply for the purpose of doing them good, and the explanation is both ludicrous and incredible. Another reason for the absolute necessity of Christianity in China, for the need of its spread and progress, is this: that China "cannot for a moment be brought to believe that a woman who lives alone in an inland town, or travels without a male escort, or worships in the same churches alongside of men, can possibly be moral."

That the regeneration of China will be resumed by all the forces whose working has been hindered I cannot for a moment doubt. Those who believe that Christianity is the ultimate, absolute and universal religion will not be kept back by recent events from fulfilling their obligations to carry the Gospel to those who need it. Impelled by the power of love and duty they will not be restrained by the criticism that they are disturbers and intermeddlers. Of course, incident to all progress there are various forms of disturbance. We do not fail to remember Holmes's picture of the prying up of a stone in a field, and of the excitement among the ants, spiders and various other insects whose dark and dreadful domain has been invaded. But the sunlight of truth and love will find its entrance further and wider among the four hundred millions of people who need the benediction of Him who said: "Blessed are the merciful, Blessed are the pure in heart," and "Blessed are the peace-makers."

It ought to be our hope and care that the European governments shall make no further mistakes through a selfish policy. If under the leadership of the Washington government China is saved from further dismem-

berment, if the anti-foreign feeling is not re-embittered by crimes like the introduction of the opium traffic, we may look forward hopefully to the renewal of those Christian activities which have already produced beneficent and widespread results. We have made it hard heretofore for men in the Orient to fall in love with Christianity. Still, a magnificent beginning has been made in the Christian conquest of the East. The forces which come from Christ, and they only, can unify and pacify and purify the great empire on which Confucius and other sages stamped their moral impress. Whatever the evils and perils of Christendom, the law of life, the law of hope, the law of love and the law of progress run their golden threads through its vast and growing organism. When China becomes a part of Christendom its people will not be looking toward an unworthy and enslaving past, but toward a better and freer future.



## THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE

The strike among the anthracite coal miners is an industrial event of immense proportions. There are already 100,000 miners on strike, with the possibility that within a week the number may reach 150,000. This means that half a million people's income is suspended. Such an event is a very serious matter to the community as well as to the people whose bread and butter is directly involved. Under proper conditions of organized capital and organized labor, with mutual recognition of the rights of each by the other, such a thing ought never to occur.

It is charged, and not altogether without evidence, that one of the forces operating to bring about this strike at the present time is political. It is said that the managers of Mr. Bryan's political fortunes have actively interested themselves in stimulating it, for the obvious reason that to have 150,000 men on strike with their grievances daily under discussion and frequently magnified would be an excellent opportunity for the stump politician to make capital out of an attack upon corporations under the war-cry of: "Down with trusts." If it be true that such is the case, and that political managers have promised to contribute to the strike funds in pretended friendship to labor, it is one of the most scandalous political performances that ever disgraced the history of presidential campaigns. It is the more scandalous because the party and its present candidate have never been known to show any real friendship for labor other than in eloquent phrases on the stump. Indeed, on principle it is a long-hour, cheap-labor, anti-organization party. Mr. Bryan himself is the very personification of *laissez faire*, free competi-

tion, survival of the fittest and misfortune take the hindermost. His whole political record, in congress and out, like that of his party, has been against any legislative assistance to labor as to hours or any other conditions of work. All this, we repeat, makes the stimulation of this strike from such a source cowardly hypocrisy, and if true ought to insure overwhelming defeat in the election.

But the laborers are not to be blamed for the chicanery of politicians. If their cause is a good one there is no reason why they should not receive democratic money to feed the strikers, nor is there any reason why they should not take this as the most opportune moment to press their demands. If for any economic, social or political reason it would be embarrassing to their opponents in the struggle to press their claims at this time, it is the laborers' right to seize this opportunity. The hypocrisy and dishonor of the political part of the performance is with the politicians and not with the laborers,—it is their's to win.

But what of the merits of the strike? Among the demands presented by the miners is one for an increase of wages, 20 per cent. for the lowest-price laborers and 10 per cent. for those whose wages are highest. This is a legitimate demand in this time of prosperity; it is a perfectly proper and laudable ambition for laborers to demand an increase of wages, especially since it is admitted by the corporations that there has not been an increase of wages among these miners for many years, while in nearly all other lines of industry wages have risen to a considerable extent.

Another demand is that the semi-monthly payment law be enforced. This is a statute law in Pennsylvania and no strike ought to be required to secure its enforcement. If it is violated, it is the duty of the state to punish the violators and not leave it to the laborers to

enforce by a strike. If there is any proper political aspect in it, it is this: The republicans are in power in Pennsylvania; they passed this law, and may properly be held responsible for its enforcement. But the fact is that the violation of this semi-monthly payment is comparatively slight; all the large corporations do live up to it, and it is only in a few small isolated places where the monthly payments still continue.

The "truck-store" system is another item in the complaint. It would not be fair for the public to assume that this system is general and compulsory; we know of one instance where the corporation was petitioned by the laborers to establish a store, because the laborers were so badly accommodated and fraudulently treated by the little petty traders in the district. This truck-store system tends to grow into a most oppressive affair, especially in the hands of unscrupulous people, but it has largely disappeared where large corporations exist.

Another item of complaint is that the laborers have to dig 3,360 pounds to the ton. This Mr. Bryan has already begun to use in his usual flippant way as showing that the laborers are swindled out of 1,120 pounds to the ton. It is fair to the corporations, for they are entitled to have the truth told just as much as the laborers, to say that this is a misrepresentation of the facts. It simply means that it takes about 3,360 pounds of rough material, including stones, dirt and what not, to yield 2,240 pounds of coal at the breakers. This is the basis upon which the wages have for years been adjusted. If every 2,240 pounds that was brought out of the mines were clean coal, the price per ton would be lower because it would take very much less labor to get it. Under these circumstances, for the laborers to pretend and Mr. Bryan to preach that they are swindled out of 1,120 pounds to the ton is deception in the one



case and demagoguery in the other. To insist that 2,240 pounds of rough material shall be counted a ton if it only yields about 1,500 pounds of coal at the breakers, would, according to all the previous bases of wages, be an advance of nearly 50 per cent. Now, if the laborers want an advance of 50 per cent., and think they are justified in having it, they should frankly demand it and not try to mislead the public by this kind of half-true statement.

Again, as to the price of powder, which is another item in the list of grievances, the president of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company admits, and for that matter so do all the corporations, that in some regions \$2.75 a keg is charged for powder and very generally \$2.50, while the price to-day if bought by the carload is only \$1.25 a keg. This is a matter of contract; if the laborers, when fixing their scale of wages, agree that the price per ton shall be a definite amount with powder at a certain price, the corporation is bound to supply powder at that price; if it falls the corporation gets the benefit if it rises the laborers get the benefit. If, on the other hand, the laborers were willing to fix the scale of wages at a certain point with powder at a stipulated price, and to have the wages rise or fall with the rise and fall in the price of powder, this seeming overcharge for powder would be obviated, but a fall of \$1 per keg in the price of powder, if a keg a week were used, would necessarily bring a fall of \$1 a week in wages and without at all affecting the laborer's actual income. According to the statement of President Garrett of the Lehigh Valley Company, the laborers refused this proposition; if they did they have no right to complain.

But, in addition to these grievances, which may be somewhat exaggerated, two facts stand out conspicuously in this strike. First, the workmen have presented their case and asked that it be discussed in conference

by their representatives and the representatives of the corporations; second, they have offered to submit the whole case to arbitration. The employers have declined to entertain either of these propositions. They have not taken the public into their confidence sufficiently to make a formal or authoritative reply to the workmen's demands. If every grievance cited in the workmen's complaint were imaginary, the corporations would be entitled to the censure of the public for taking this arbitrary, dictatorial attitude in the case. If this strike is protracted into the winter, consumers of coal will be seriously injured by the high prices and short supply, and such an injury should not be tolerated by the public unless absolutely necessary. Every possible method of avoiding such a conflict should be tried, but in the present instance this has not been done. On the contrary, the corporations have taken it upon themselves to be the sole arbitrators of the interest of the laborers and of the community. In this they are refusing to recognize what intelligence, reason and experience have taught are effective as well as fair and humane methods of adjusting such differences.

The great and important fact behind this situation is that the anthracite coal-mining corporations, for the sake of securing cheap labor, have imported into the coal regions of Pennsylvania the poorest and most ignorant laborers of continental Europe. It is notorious that the miners in this region are largely Hungarians, Slavs and Poles, who were secured solely because their standard of social life was too low to demand respectable wages. The corporations overlooked the fact that while ignorant labor is cheap it is the most unreasonable and dangerous when aroused, especially if inflated by political demagogues. They also acted upon the mistaken assumption that these people would be too ignorant to organize, an idea which in every other in-

dustry has proven a broken reed to lean upon. The fact is that ignorant, superstitious men in the hands of bright leaders are the most easily organized and the most easily led into violent outbreaks, and are the most unreasonable in their demands. Witness the Hazleton riot, about three years ago.

It is urged on behalf of the corporations that the labor organizations are arbitrary in their action. Is not the action of the corporations arbitrary? What is the decision of the corporations but arbitrary in refusing to confer with the unions? Of course these Poles and Hungarians are ignorant and rude, but one of the redeeming features of the situation is that these ignorant miners who have been imported into the Pennsylvania coal regions have, through their local unions, become integrated into a larger organization, "The United Mine-Workers of America." This organization extends into many other states and includes localities where intelligent Americans constitute a considerable portion of the unions, and thus the Slavs, Poles and Hungarians get the benefit of American leadership in their industrial affairs. It is this leadership to which the Pennsylvania mine-owners seem to object, and yet they themselves are integrated for their own interests throughout the entire anthracite coal region. This refusal to treat with the general union in preference to the individual local unions is not only arbitrary and wilful but it is uneconomic and contrary to the experience of the wisest industrial management. Twenty-five years ago this attitude was taken by the employers in numerous industries, especially in the cotton industries of New England. Many struggles between corporations and organized labor took place in Massachusetts and later in New York and other manufacturing states, because the corporations insisted that they alone should decide both sides of the contract; but experience has shown



the folly of this narrow view. The most successful employers now frankly admit that they can get better results, have less friction, more success in their industrial controversies, when they conduct a discussion through the recognized officers of the labor organization than when they attempt to deal with unorganized irritated laborers individually. Recently, the head of one of the largest cotton corporations in Massachusetts said that he could always get better results by dealing with the organization than with the laborers, for the double reason that the intelligent representative of the union could not afford to blind his eyes to facts and logical reasoning, while the laborers would ignore both. When the case is made clear to the intelligent leader he assumes the responsibility of dealing with the mass.

This is equally true with coal miners. In answer to an inquiry on this subject, a successful coal-mine operator in Pennsylvania under date of September 14th writes:

"As an instance of the common sense displayed by the miners at times, I will cite an incident that happened two weeks ago. We were running short time and wanted to take advantage of this to get ahead with our entries, in order that we might, when we got to running full time again, be in better position to employ more men. The miners held a meeting and decided that on days that the mines were not running we would have to shut down entirely. They submitted the matter to the union officials in Pittsburg, who came out here, and after hearing both sides told the miners they were entirely in the wrong, that they had absolutely no jurisdiction over such a matter. We have always been able to get satisfaction and justice from the officials and never had such smooth sailing as during the two and a half years that our men have belonged to the United Miners."

To deny the men's right to act through their organizations and to refuse to treat with the highest officers of the union puts the mine-owners clearly in the wrong. Regardless of the merits of the particular grievances recited in the laborers' demands, by refusing to use every available means rationally to adjust the

differences before resorting to the disrupting and impoverishing methods of fighting a strike, the corporations put themselves clearly and unmistakably in the wrong. They put themselves where the interests of labor, of the public, and the principle of common justice make them responsible for the results of the strike.

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Since writing the above, the owners of the Jeddo mines have announced their readiness to submit the whole dispute between them and their miners to arbitration. It appears, moreover, that there has for years been a written agreement between the operators and miners of the Jeddo mines that all grievances which cannot be adjusted between the firm and its employees shall be submitted to arbitration. At a recent meeting of the miners, Mr. Markle, managing owner of the concern, appealed to the men to stand by their written agreement for arbitration. Mr. Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, addressed the same meeting and asked the men to refuse to arbitrate unless all the mine owners in the anthracite regions do the same. To do this would be clearly a case of bad faith on the part of the men. Unless the unions live up to their agreements, neither the corporations nor the public can be expected to put any faith in their pretension of wanting arbitration. If organized labor hopes to gain permanent standing in the respect and confidence of the community it must establish a reputation for honor, integrity and fair dealing. To refuse to arbitrate the affairs of one firm on the plea that others decline is subterfuge. Wherever laborers agree with their employers to submit their differences to arbitration they are bound by all the obligations of honor and justice to do so, regardless of what any other firms or laborers may do. To repudiate such an agreement is a kind of bad faith which should never be permitted to succeed.

## MANSFIELD AND KING HENRY V.

N. D. HANNA

Shakespeare, the most permanent of all dramatists, seems not to have written for permanency. His pieces were often composed while in rehearsal and were for some years preserved in large part by the memory of the actors and the traditions of the companies. He wrote for the opportune moment. The transiency of the stage was the limit of his ambition, yet so human were his subjects, so catholic his treatment, that the permanency of the library overtook and claimed him, and preserved the truth and beauty reflected in him as the truth and beauty of all time.

If we depended upon the stage for acquaintance with Shakespeare, we would, with the largest opportunity, know him only as the author of some four or five tragedies, five or six comedies, and at most two historical plays, instead of as the titanic genius who gave forth thirty-six unequalled dramas. This has led to the impression that Shakespeare is no longer practical or profitable for current production. This assumption at least admits of dispute. Shakespeare need not necessarily spell ruin, though traffic in his wares is apt to founder an actor without pronounced genius or a manager without understanding, taste and prodigal generosity.

The obligation, therefore, of actors of preeminence and means occasionally to extend acquaintance with Shakespeare on the stage, and the obligation of the public to these actors for opportunity to witness the more rarely performed works translated into pictorial reality, are coincident. It is somewhat with this view



that Mr. Richard Mansfield's revival of Shakespeare's King Henry V., to be given early in October, will doubtless be received. Impressed by no newer or worthier work, this expensive excursion into an unfrequented field may be accepted rather as the self-indulgence of a dilettante than an ambitious actor's quest for new honors; for, though Henry V. does invite by the charm of Harry's character, the eloquence of the poet's language, and the pictorial pomp, it is not at the top of a list of those Shakespearian roles which test the mettle and prove the genius of great artists. Neither will he find his compensation in pecuniary profit, for there is scarcely another play by Shakespeare which commands the investment and demands the illustrative elaboration of this one. Macready's production of 1819, Samuel Phelps' of 1852, and Charles Kean's of 1859, are precedents in stage spectacle which, in spite of artistic and mechanical advancement, are until this day standards.

The fascination of Henry V., his achievements and environment, were recognized before the great English dramatist wrote the play which survives. The short reign of this monarch is one of the few, antedating the present century, to which England can look with pride unmixed with horror of domestic and political tragedies. The erstwhile roysterer Hal electrified his cabinet and his parliament by his latent gifts:

- "Hear him but reason in divinity,
- "And, all-admiring, with an inward wish
- "You would desire the king were made a prelate:
- "Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,
- "You would say, it hath been all-in-all his study:
- "List his discourse of war, and you shall hear
- "A fearful battle render'd you in music:
- "Turn him to any cause of policy . . .
- "And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
- "To steal his sweet and honeyed sentences; . . .
- "Which is a wonder how his grace should glean it,

"Since his addiction was to courses vain;  
"His companies unletter'd, rude, and shallow;  
"His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports;  
"And never noted in him any study,  
"Any retirement, any sequestration,  
"From open haunts and popularity."

During the century preceding Henry's reign, his country was seething and suffering under criminal political intrigue. With adroit success he distracted attention at home and united national patriotism in a war with the French. The war foreboded ill. The French had hundreds of thousands of troops whereas the English had only thousands. Yet Harry, with generalship not less magnificent than his personal valor, swept all before the English arms and gave Agincourt and himself a twin immortality. The fruits of peace were no less renowned than those of war. This knight daringly presented himself at the French court and there wooed, claimed and won the beautiful Princess Katherine of Valois, daughter of Charles VI.

How apparent is the temptation to the dramatist. There is a splendid drama ready made. Shakespeare, who rarely ventured to be original in the sources of this raw material, found a rich mine awaiting his refining crucible. There was a play acted in 1588, twelve years before Shakespeare's Henry V., which was called "The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, Containing the Honourable Battell of Agincourt." From this and from Holinshed's Chronicles the poet drew his information. Since his play there have been two other dramas on the subject of King Henry V. Pepys in his diary gives an account of a version which he saw acted in 1666. It was the invention of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, who was one of a number of poets who attempted to rewrite and improve Shakespeare. He made Henry and Owen Tudor simultaneously in love with Katherine. The other version was by Aaron Hill, and was

given at Drury Lane in 1723-4. The additions by Hill comprise a Harriet, for whom he invented a breeches part, and some melodramatic situations between her and Henry. He cut out all the comic characters. But Shakespeare's work alone survives, because it is logical and inspired, imbued with his loftiest imagination and most delicious humor.

There is a peculiar sentimental interest attaching to Mr. Mansfield's revival of *King Henry V.* in this year, since it is the tri-centennial of its first performance at the historic Globe, "this wooden O," when Shakespeare himself selected the actors and directed the rehearsals, when the other Richard, Burbage, added the role of King Harry to the memorable list of leading Shakespearian characters which it was his privilege to create. There is nothing known of this first performance save by inference. "Piecing the imperfections" of our knowledge, however, we may imagine the theatre crowded soon after the midday meal, for then plays began about three or four o'clock in the afternoon. Without were Shakespeare's boys, within a mingled motley of nobles and Eastcheap folk crowding the pit and bulging the boxes. There was a double stage, as was then wont, and Chorus appeared on the upper stage, if indeed Chorus appeared at the early performances at all, for those magnificent speeches are not found in any printed text before the folio of 1623, twenty-three years after its first presentation. Scenery there was probably none. Nor were there any women in the cast. The liberal days of the restoration had not yet come, and youths in the roles of Queen Isabel, Princess Katherine, Lady Alice and Dame Quickley excited no surprise.

What an advancement in the art of producing plays since then! The idea of presenting *Henry V.* without scenery would defeat the whole intent and purpose of



the contemporary manager. "Imaginary forces" are feebly supplied by the audience's thoughts.

These be the days of seeing no less than thinking. There must need be the very beach at Southampton, with the idle English fleet ready to leap across at France, the very towering frowning walls of Harfleur, the pageantry and battle-realism of Agincourt to the last detail, no smallest compromise of the regal return of Henry across London Bridge, and all the timely splendor of the French Court and the Troyes Cathedral with the assembled royalty and military of two nations. The roofless Globe and the garish afternoon light would little satisfy the unimaginative playgoer who believes only in night when he sees darkness or the soft radiance of moonlight. Chorus would appeal in vain to "Into a thousand parts divide one man and make imaginary puissance." The modern prompt-book calls for a boy choir, an adult chorus, a ballet of dancing girls, and soldiers and courtiers, pages, messengers and miners, citizens and attendants to the number of a couple of hundred.

It is the staggering expense involved in giving correct realization to King Henry V. which has prohibited its more frequent presentation on the stage. Singularly enough, however, the play has not yet been given without distinguished popular success. It has always been one of the most admired plays at the English court, from the memorable performance before James I. when the royal exchequer spent a thousand pounds and the queen herself played a part, and later when the actors wore the identical robes and armor of the historical originals of the characters, loaned by the court and by noble families.

Among the celebrated actors of Shakespeare's King Henry V. up to this time have been David Garrick, who played the role at Drury Lane in 1747; Spranger Barry

and James Quinn at Covent Garden in 1751; John Philip Kemble in 1789 at Drury Lane; Robert William Elliston at the Haymarket, 1803; Thomas Apthrope Cooper at the Park Theatre, New York city, 1804 (probably the first time in America); Faulkener in 1809 at Scarboro; Charles Kemble at Covent Garden, 1811; William Conway at Covent Garden, 1813; William Macready at Covent Garden, 1819, and in New York and other American cities, 1826; Edmund Kean at Covent Garden, 1830; Samuel Phelps at Sadler's Wells, 1853; Charles Kean at the Royal Princess, 1859; Charles Calvert at the Royal Princess, 1872; George Rignold at Booth's Theatre, New York city, 1875; and John Coleman at the Queen's, 1876.

There is a charm in this noble young hero which reaches every understanding heart. Dowden epitomizes him graphically: "Henry's freedom from egoism, his modesty, his integrity, his joyous humor, his practical piety, his habit of judging things by natural and not artificial standards—all these are various developments of the central element of his character, his noble realization of fact. But this realization of fact produces something more than this integrity, this homely honesty of nature. It breathes through him an enthusiasm which would be intense if it were not so massive. Through this union with the vital strength of the world, he becomes one of the most glorious and beneficent forces. From the plain and mirth-creating comrade of his fellow soldiers he rises into the genius of impassioned battle."

The ethical development of Henry is the intellectual appeal of the play, this and the lofty poetry of every scene saving only those delivered over to the classic comedy of Dame Quickley, Pistol, Nym, Bardolph, Fluellen and Williams, and the exquisite wooing of French Katherine by altogether English Harry. The

sensual appeal is through a panorama of really regal pageantry. Henry V. becomes an English Cæsar, and the purple imperial pomp is over all the play. It is not more nor less spectacle than drama.

On committing himself to a revival of King Henry V., Mr. Mansfield's first step was naturally the preparation of an acting version. In result this is less meddlesome than it sounds. The effort has been to come as close to the spirit and meaning of Shakespeare as possible. The acting versions of Calvert, Kean and Macready offered many valuable suggestions in making practical the complexity of the original scenario when brought face to face with the exigencies of modern stagecraft and the limitations which space and expediency place upon so elaborate a representation. But these ancient prompt-books disclosed what was more valuable, not merely what to condense and eliminate but what to restore. Shakespeare is not so archaic after all if the producer had the temerity to reproduce him literally and the public had the patience to listen.

Thus Mr. Mansfield's version becomes in some respects a restoration of the text of Shakespeare to the stage. A couple of instances will make this clear. Heretofore the play has begun with the royal presence chamber, showing the reception of the French ambassadors and giving the tennis ball incident. Mr. Mansfield will first show an antechamber in which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely discuss the change which has come over the new monarch. This is a reversion to the original text and explains, to a public who knew Henry V. as Prince Hal, that and how the roystering rake is become the very reigning beau ideal:

"Never was such a sudden scholar made;

"Never came reformation in a flood

"With such a heady current, scouring faults."

The dignity, scholarship and eloquence of the king



make him a marvel not less than the marvelous change which has come over the princely pal of the Boar's Head clique. Ely can account for it but that

“ . . . wholesome berries thrive and ripen best  
“Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality;  
“And so the prince obscur'd his contemplation  
“Under the veil of wildness.”

At every opportunity the heroic and spectacular quality of Henry V. has been lightened and thrown into relief by accenting the rich mine of comedy which Shakespeare has provided. The delightful scenes between Dame Quickley, Pistol, Nym and Bardolph have heretofore been congested into one. It has defeated the intent of the author and obscured the audience while they were robbed of the merry “lambkins” humor. The scene condensed has no meaning. It is restored so as to show the inimitable quarrel between Corporal Nym and Ancient Pistol, interrupted by Quickley who summons them into the Inn to Falstaff who is in a precarious condition with a burning fever. The next time we see the Eastcheap worthies “Falstaff he is dead,” as Dame Quickley tells in that speech of classic humor: “for after I saw him fumble with the sheets, and play with flowers, and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way; for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and 'a babbled of green fields.” These are detached instances which indicate the general intent.

One feature of the present revival, however, which is not found in the Shakespearian text is the representation of the historical episode of the return of King Henry V. and the victorious English army to London after the battle of Agincourt. This pageant was introduced by Charles Kean, and fits into the sequence of the story with such nice logic that it seems a very part of the drama. It stands for the fourth act of the play

though not a word is spoken. The appeal to the ear is made by music and song and the indefinite buzz of holiday throngs, and to the eye by the variety of pictures. Another distinguished feature, though not more of Mr. Mansfield's revival of King Henry V. than of any other, is the appearance of Chorus. Often this Chorus has assumed the hoary locks of Time or the classic mantle of Clio, muse of history, but in the text of the folio is found "Rumour as Chorus," and this is the determination in the present instance. Rumour appears in varied pictorial environment and special dressing suggested by the trend of her narrative.

The play of King Henry V. can be approached by the sincere manager or actor only with the spirit of reverence and it can be studied only with crescent admiration. The venture can scarcely be depended upon for profitable speculation, it must be a labor of love and of the hope for sympathetic appreciation. For the artist to have added such a new role to his repertoire, for the producer to have been able to realize the prodigal splendor of the author's suggestions, for the purposeful manager to have extended his public's acquaintance to an infrequently seen Shakespearian play,—that is something. As for the qualitative results, perhaps he had rather defer, in the words of Chorus, and

" . . . . your humble patience pray,  
"Gently to hear, kindly to judge."

## SHIP SUBSIDIES AND BOUNTIES

ALEXANDER R. SMITH

If a test is desired to demonstrate the withering shrinkage of a great American industry under the operation of free trade, that test is afforded by our shipping engaged in foreign trade. In competition with the foreign shipping now carrying our foreign commerce, American ships have declined from a tonnage of 2,500,000 in 1861 to but 850,000 in 1900. In the same period the value of our foreign commerce has increased fourfold. American ships in our foreign trade have been unprotected for forty years. To say that they have been driven from the sea by protection, because since 1792 the right of American registry has been denied to foreign-built vessels, is an evasion of the issue and a perversion of the truth.

The losses suffered by our shipping during our civil war would have been overcome if the ships had been protected in operation. The change from wood to iron and from sail to steam would have been just as quickly made under the American as it has been under any other flag, had our ships been protected. For the lack of protection alone, the proportion of American foreign commerce carried in American ships has declined from 66 to 8 per cent. in the past forty years.

To the extent that their position is defined on the subject, democrats suggest as the only remedy for our decayed shipping the free American registry of foreign-built ships. They would send people abroad rather than to American shipbuilders for the ships they need because foreign labor is cheap and American labor is dear. Having ruined our shipowners by free trade,



democrats would now proceed to ruin our shipbuilders by the same blighting policy.

Republicans, on the other hand, have ever stood for the protection of American shipping. Therefore the friends of American shipping have always looked to republicans—to the party of protection—for legislative relief from the atrophy due to the lack of protection. They have asked that American ships upon the sea be protected against the competition of foreign ships to the same extent that our land industries have been protected against foreign competition. The United States would to-day be infinitely better off if the half a billion of dollars invested in the foreign ships now employed in carrying our foreign commerce had been invested by our own people in ships built in the United States. If the money now annually paid to foreign shipowners for carrying our imports and exports, amounting to \$200,000,000 each year, were paid to American shipowners, and thus retained in the United States for the employment of our own people, industrially, commercially and economically, this country would be the gainer. We could then rely upon our own sea power for our national defence, rather upon the sea power of any other nation, no matter how friendly or how powerful. We should not contribute, by our neglect, to the upbuilding of the sea power of other nations, in order to seek at alien hands protection against aliens. To be more explicit, if it be true that it was Great Britain's interposition that saved the United States from the interference of continental Europe when we crossed swords with Spain, let us remember that Great Britain's ability to hold continental Europe at bay rested upon her unequalled sea power, to which no nation has contributed so lavishly and so recklessly by the neglect of its own sea power as has the United States.

It was in 1886 that the agitation in behalf of subsi-

dies and bounties for American ships took active and coherently directed shape. As a result of that agitation, and the active aid of republicans, a postal subsidy bill was enacted on March 3, 1891, after a tonnage bounty and subsidy bill combined had been defeated in the house of representatives by three votes. The defeat of the tonnage bounty bill in 1891, and the meager results following the adoption of the postal subsidy bill that had been robbed of its chief beneficence, led republicans to look for some other equally effective method by which to revive our decaying marine. So in 1896 the republican national platform, and Major McKinley's letter accepting the presidential nomination of his party, each declared specifically in favor of the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our shipping in the foreign trade. It is not to be doubted, in these circumstances, that the natural disposition of the republican leaders in congress would have been to favor such legislation as soon as they regained the reins of government. And yet, after investigation, and the discovery that the readoption of that old policy could only be accomplished through the abrogation of some thirty-five or forty treaties with as many different nations, it was deemed impracticable and impolitic to make the attempt. In 1897 Senator Frye invited to a conference in his committee room in Washington the leading American ship-owners and shipbuilders, as well as a number of senators and representatives in congress, and others identified with the agitation in behalf of American shipping revival. At that conference, and upon Senator Frye's suggestion, a committee was appointed to draft a bill upon which even those of divergent views as to policy might unite. It took almost two years for them to frame such a bill, but it was finally drafted and introduced in each branch of congress at the opening of

the short session in December, 1898, and, although favorably reported from the senate commerce and the house merchant marine and fisheries committees, its consideration was rendered impossible because of the protracted discussion of the Paris peace treaty.

The same bill, amended in several particulars, was again introduced in each branch at the opening of the 56th congress, in December 1899, and, after extended hearings before each congressional committee, the bill was again favorably reported to each branch of congress, and it now awaits consideration and passage. This bill provides compensation for American ships engaging in our foreign trade, in competition with foreign ships, just sufficient in amount to enable them to meet the advantages at present possessed by foreign ships through their cheaper construction and operation and the subsidies and bounties they enjoy from their governments, amounting to \$26,000,000 a year. It is found that it is by subsidies and bounties, applicable in each case to the particular needs of their marine, that foreign nations have built and are still building up their shipping. And it is through the application of subsidies and bounties, in a manner adapted to the conditions and needs found existing in the United States, that the bill of 1898-9 is intended to revive our shipping in the foreign trade. Such a policy avoids every possibility of diplomatic entanglement and reasonable foreign resentment, and is in line with the policies in vogue to-day the world over.

In GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for August there appeared an article by Captain William W. Bates, formerly United States commissioner of navigation, on the subject of "Sound Shipping Protection." The article is largely devoted to a denunciation of the policies of subsidies and bounties and to the advocacy of the old policy of discriminating duties. It should be here in-



serted that the writer has nothing but respect and veneration for Captain Bates. In all of the agitation of a decade and a half ago that culminated in the defeat of the tonnage bounty bill and the passage of the emasculated postal subsidy bill in 1891, none was more conspicuous, none more industrious and none more insistent in behalf of subsidies and bounties than Captain Bates. It was to his espousal of these policies, his practical knowledge of shipbuilding, and his long devotion to the cause of the American ship, that he owed his appointment at the hands of President Harrison to the office of commissioner of navigation—an office possessing great influence in the shaping of shipping legislation, and investing the incumbent with a degree of responsibility not to be regarded lightly. The rise and decline of American shipping, as described in an elaborate and detailed statement made by Captain Bates, while commissioner of navigation, to the house committee on merchant marine and fisheries, occupied two days in its delivery. In it he described the adoption and operation of the policy of discriminating duties that had been in force from 1789 to 1815, and thereafter in diminishing degree for many years. If he believed in the superior effectiveness of that policy, that was the time and that was the place for him to make his reasons clear, at a time when his every utterance was weighed most carefully and his advice followed almost undeviatingly. And yet, not only did he strenuously advocate subsidies and bounties but he opposed discriminating duties. The facts are of record in his official correspondence, and his published annual report as commissioner of navigation, and in his great work "American Marine," published by him in 1892 after he had retired from the office of commissioner of navigation.

General Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, a member of

the house committee on merchant marine and fisheries, subsequently wrote a separate minority report, against subsidies and bounties, and suggesting a return to the old discriminating duty policy. Quoting from General Wheeler's report and suggestion, Captain Bates in his 1890 report as commissioner of navigation disposed of that recommendation in part as follows:

"The way to begin this work [of reviving American shipping] is by a bounty system. A system that will act immediately and efficaciously. A system that will specially increase our exports *as differential duties cannot do and never did do*. Differential duties will give us the import trade but not necessarily the export trade to the same extent. *Bounties will give us ultimately the control of both trades*. For the present all in favor of an American marine must vote for bounties "

As has been said, the subsidy bill and the tonnage bill of a decade ago were separate bills. Writing of them in his 1890 report as commissioner of navigation, he said:

"While the tonnage or bounty bill, on account of its general application, is of the first importance for the rehabilitation of our marine in the foreign trade, it can be said for the postal subsidy service bill that the tonnage measure would be incomplete without its passage also; for we could not otherwise obtain the speed which is necessary for the carriage of mails and passengers on main lines of traffic; nor could we, in any way, so well acquire and keep in readiness swift fleets of steamers for naval cruising in time of war. The production of vessels for the carriage of cargo, at economical rates of speed, is the most that should be expected from the action of the tonnage bill."

Subsequently Captain Bates merged the subsidy and the tonnage bounty bills into one, and this was the bill that came within three votes of passage, preceding the adoption of the postal subsidy bill, the compensation provisions of which, however, were reduced one-third, a reduction that practically nullified all of the good contemplated in the bill as originally drafted by Senator Frye.

Captain Bates now says that any subsidy or bounty bill to be effective should give to American ships the

carriage of at least 80 per cent. of our foreign commerce in a few years. As commissioner of navigation, writing officially over his title, in January 1891, and estimating the utmost possible tonnage he expected the bill would bring into existence at the end of ten years' operation, he added that, if that expected tonnage were *then* in existence, "we would carry 35 per cent. of our foreign commerce." This year of 1900 would have been the tenth year of that bill's operation, and the tonnage he estimated it would bring into existence by this time would carry barely 21 per cent. of our foreign commerce. Captain Bates knew, as does everybody advocating subsidies and bounties, that once the inertia in our shipping development is overcome and a momentum of construction and operation begun, little if anything will be long required to maintain it. And it is precisely this that the pending shipping subsidy and bounty bill now seeks to do, just as the bill Captain Bates advocated ten years ago was intended to do.

In his writings of to-day Captain Bates seeks to create apprehension in the minds of the people regarding the alleged hundreds of millions of dollars that will be required to revive our shipping by subsidies and bounties, and yet, defending his own advocacy of that system ten years ago, he wrote in his "American Marine" of the tonnage bounty bill as follows:

"After the opening of the debate upon the bill, the opposition set up that the cost of the measure would run into the hundreds of millions, and again the commissioner of navigation [Capt. Bates himself] was requested to state the possible extent of the cost under the conditions named."

We had, in that year, more than a million tons of American shipping in the foreign trade, and to-day we have but 850,000 tons, much of which is ten years older than it was when Captain Bates wrote. And yet Captain Bates figured out that, with all the new construc-



tion that the operation of the bill would give impulse to, with all of the extensive repairs that would be added to vessels to keep them within the eligible class, and with all the new shipyards that would be established and old ones enlarged, at the end of the tenth year but 310,000 tons of sail and 913,000 tons of steam shipping would be in existence under the American flag, earning bounties in the sums of \$806,000 and \$7,395,300 respectively, or a total of \$8,201,300. And this last-named sum was the utmost possible, at the zenith period of the bill's operation, that Captain Bates would concede could be earned by the ships the bill would bring into existence at the end of the tenth year! There was no limit in the amount that should be paid out under his bill of ten years ago, while a limit of nine millions of dollars is placed in the bill he is now opposing.

The tonnage bounty bill as originally drafted, and as favored and advocated by Captain Bates, fixed upon 30 cents per ton per thousand miles sailed as the amount of compensation for American ships in the foreign trade. Subsequently this was reduced to 20 cents per ton per thousand miles sailed. The bill he is now opposing fixes upon 10 cents per ton per thousand miles sailed, except for the first 1,500 miles outward and inward where the rate is fixed at 15 cents per ton per thousand miles sailed. In his "American Marine" Captain Bates has this to say:

"The tonnage bill had two faults induced by a desire of the committee on marine to be as saving as possible of bounty money. The first was starting the scale of bounties at twenty cents a ton, instead of twenty-five cents at least; and the second was in limiting the payment of bounty on a single voyage to seven thousand, instead of ten thousand miles. *Otherwise it was perfect.*"

The figures in the table prepared by Captain Bates, when commissioner of navigation, to show the amount that would be paid through the operation of the tonnage bounty bill, shows that the annual earning of sail vessels would have been \$2.60 per ton. The amount that would be earned under the pending bill by sailing vessels has been estimated by the present commissioner of navigation at \$2.50 per ton per annum. Under the tonnage bill of ten years ago, Captain Bates figured that steam vessels would earn at the rate of \$8.10 per ton per annum, while, on an estimate of approximately the same amount of steam tonnage that will be brought under the American flag in five years that Captain Bates estimated his bill would give in ten years, the present commissioner of navigation estimates the pending bill would give \$8.11 per ton per annum. According to these estimates the same tonnage would earn \$8,201,300 under the bill advocated by Captain Bates ten years ago, and \$8,179,430 for the same tonnage under the present bill.

In the days when discriminating duties were in force we had neither steamships nor ocean cables. American sailing ships were then built much cheaper than foreign vessels, they usually made three voyages while a foreign ship was making two, and the master of the ship generally sold the cargo he carried away and purchased the cargo he brought home. Everything imported into the United States, in those early days, was subject to a duty, and our imports exceeded our exports—conditions which, in the absence of treaties to the contrary, made the imposition of the discriminating duty policy much easier than it could be made now, when 40 per cent. of our imports now free of duty would be taxed, if brought in foreign ships. Again, our exports are fully three times as bulky and almost twice as valuable as our imports now are. Captain Bates endeavors to make much

of his allegation that a discriminating duty would cost the people of the United States nothing, while the subsidy and bounty method would be a great tax upon the American people. In the end the American people would pay the cost of transportation,\* whether under discriminating duties, subsidies or bounties, and in neither case would American ships do the carrying unless it were profitable for them to do so.

The subject, as Captain Bates well says, could be profitably discussed at almost any length, in order to bring into prominence its many features and details. The bill now pending in congress, for instance, provides for contracts to be made between the secretary of the treasury and the owners of American ships, whereby the government agrees to pay a fixed sum for ten years to American vessels departing in the foreign trade with cargoes, if carrying the mails without additional compensation, the ships being subject to the charter or purchase of the government at will, carrying American boys and educating them in seamanship, engineering and navigation, and conforming to other conditions imposed. Congress could not, however, authorize any secretary of the treasury to assure a shipowner of the continuance of a discriminating duty law for even a day. In the absence of a contract, fixing the com-

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\* This statement is altogether too sweeping. Under discriminating duties the increase of duty would be paid by the American people only on articles upon which the added duty raised the cost of the foreign article above the cost of domestic production. Wherever the margin of profit on the foreign product was greater than the added duty, it would have no effect upon the price, and this would be true of a large number (conceivably it might be true of 90 per cent.) of the goods to which the discriminating duty applied. The fact that only 8 per cent. of our foreign trade is done in American ships does not in the least affect this fact. The principle that the duty will be added to the price only when it raises the foreign cost of production above the domestic cost would operate just the same under discriminating duties, regardless of the amount of trade done in American bottoms.



pensation for a given period—impossible under discriminating duties—it is the testimony of our ship-owners that they would not dare to take the risk of ordering new ships because of the possible repeal of the law, perhaps while a ship was being built, or just as she was put into operation.

Senator Frye adopted what he conceived to be the most sensible plan of securing an effective shipping revival bill, by bringing together those interested, and adding to their number practical members of congress and others, in order to secure a measure upon which all could agree, and which could pass congress. A bill that those best informed say will result in the construction of at least several hundred thousand tons of new ships at once, but a bill that cannot benefit any present American owner of ships until he has built additional tonnage in American ship yards, as is the case with the bill now pending, is concededly practicable.

There is this to be said in conclusion: The bill now pending is probably a measure that can be passed by congress at the next session. As much cannot be said of an entirely new measure. If the friends of American shipping divide upon policy, any effort to secure legislation may be defeated and foreign ship-owners will then continue to monopolize 92 per cent. of our carrying and to take from the United States \$200,000,000 a year in freight money for an indefinite period.

What Captain Bates said in 1891, referring to the then pending bounty bill, may be as aptly said now referring to the now pending bill: "For the present all in favor of an American marine must vote for bounties."

## “TRUSTS” AND MONOPOLIES\*

The first requisite to the scientific consideration of “trusts” is to clear the ground of some of the confusing underbrush. The term trust is used as synonymous with monopoly, corporation, corner, conspiracy, etc. This application is so general that it has no meaning and designates nothing in particular.

A trust is a definite thing, as are corporations; so likewise is a monopoly. A trust may be smaller than some corporations and have no monopoly whatever. Monopoly is simply exclusive control. A concern may be a monopoly without being either a trust or a corporation. Whatever the form of its organization, if it has entire control of its field it is a monopoly, and not otherwise.

A trust is different from a stock corporation or a partnership. It is a combination of different firms or corporations under one management without dissolving the individuality of the firms. It is a transference of the management of several properties to a central body, to be managed in trust for the whole. This form of organization has only been adopted in a few cases, the Standard Oil, sugar, whiskey, and a few others. Either through public criticism or special legislation, these few trusts have all dissolved and re-organized as simple stock corporations.

There were a very few large concerns of the partnership type, like the Carnegie firm, but these too have been transformed into corporations, so that the whole question is now a problem of corporations—

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\*Paper read by Mr. Gunton before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Columbia University, New York city, June 28th, 1900.

large or small corporations, good or bad, monopolistic or competitive, but simply corporations and nothing more. Corporations are simply economic instruments for doing certain kinds of work. The interest of the public in that instrument is only that it should do its work cheaper and better than any other. Like the machinery in a factory, any form of organization is worth preserving just so long as it is the best thing of its kind, but as soon as a better is discovered, one that will secure superior management, less waste, more systematic foresight, avoidance of fluctuation, or any other economic advantage which enables it to render cheaper and better service, the public has no interest in longer maintaining the old, but every interest in encouraging the new type of organization.

If we follow the history of the development of modern corporations we shall find that they have come into existence and grown to their present proportions in accordance with this principle of economic utility. Hand labor and small concerns were once the most economic methods of producing the world's commodities; indeed, this is true yet in some parts of the world; witness India, China, and a considerable part of Europe and South America. The economic efficiency of the style of tools and methods of organization largely depends on the state of civilization or demand for the products. If the demand be very small, the most economic method will be hand labor. Scientific methods which involve the use of machinery and large investment of capital produce more cheaply than hand labor only when the demand for the products is large.

It is obvious that when only a few hundred or thousand bushels of grain were to be transported a few miles it was cheaper to take it by ox-cart than it would have been to build a railroad, but when hundreds of millions of bushels are to be transported thou-



sands of miles every year it becomes immensely cheaper to construct expensive railroads and pay higher wages and salaries to do the work; so that, in reality, the economic utility of large investments and complicated methods chiefly depends on the increasing aggregate of consumption.

In accordance with this economic law, and it is as universal as human effort, the modern methods of production both in machinery and organization have been gradually evolved by experimentation in the effort to find more efficient methods of doing the world's work. This evolution was very slow at first because the increased consumption of goods was very slow. Indeed, for ages there was little or no variation in the style and variety of goods consumed, and consequently practically no change in the methods of production. The tastes, habits and modes of life and style of utilities have not changed in Asia for thousands of years, consequently the people do what they do in practically the same way as they did thousands of years ago. In the western world ideas have diversified and increased and the variety of consumable goods has grown apace, and, with each expansion of consumption (the market), the development of new productive devices has become feasible. It first took the form of individual capitalistic production; employers economized the cost by aggregating labor and assuming the responsibility of buying raw material and selling finished products and paying the wages. Then came a series of mechanical inventions which, with the application of steam, gave us the factory system.

In order to use the best machinery to greatest advantage, individual capitalists combined in partnerships. And, for the same reason, partnerships were superseded by small corporations and small corporations by large ones, until we now have large corpora-

tions dissolving and being consolidated into still larger corporations.

In this process of evolution the movement has been very jerky; at times the change has been chiefly in the character of machinery as the result of new inventions, like the discovery of the Bessemer process in the manufacture of steel. At other times the change has been chiefly in the type of organization for securing economies and stopping wastes in numerous ways, such as doing without middlemen, reducing the number of managers, lessening the cost of transportation by fewer reshipments, etc. Economizing expense through superior organization of capital has the same economic effect as does the saving by use of a new machine,—they both add to the profits by lessening the cost of a given product.

Every such cycle of innovation, whether by the introduction of new inventions or of larger capital, brings with it a contribution to the public in the form of improved quality at lower prices. As a rule the capitalist tries to keep all the gain, but the very economic principle which gave him the gain prevents him from keeping it for long. He first obtains the gain because he has a superior or more economic method, but, as soon as that becomes known, which the underselling of his neighbors reveals at once, others adopt the same method and compete with him for a part of the profits. This compels him to lower the price and thus give a part of it to the community. In this way every product and form of service into which invention, large capital and extensive organization have entered, has steadily lowered in price as the new methods appeared and the invested capital increased.

So universal is this principle that if we follow the statistics of prices we find that wherever machinery, capital and large organization are applied to industry

the price of the product declines, and in those industries where little machinery has been employed and there has been practically no concentration of capital by corporate organization, prices have not fallen but in many cases have risen.

The great era of machine methods in the United States is since 1860. According to the Senate Report of 1890, out of two hundred articles there were fifty-eight the prices of which had increased since 1860. A very large number had risen from 30 to 70 per cent.; some had risen as much as 100, some 200 and some as much as 300 per cent. With one or two exceptions these were all agricultural or raw material products, in which the concentration of capital and the use of machinery had been relatively slight. On the other hand, the tables give 140 groups of manufactured products, in the making of which capital is considerably concentrated and machinery extensively used, and in all these prices had fallen from 10 to 80 per cent. Moreover, in those industries where machinery and large capital are most employed, not only have prices fallen, but, through the increased demand for the product at the lower prices, the number of laborers employed has greatly increased and wages have risen; which may be verified in detail by reference to the census of 1890.

Thus the general tendency of the economic movement is to utilize scientific devices and superior organization, and, in one way or another and frequently in several ways, ultimately to divide the benefits of both the invention and the organization with the public. Although this is demonstrable, there is a tremendous misgiving regarding these corporations. If some of the very large ones could be definitely selected as "trusts," it is more than probable that public opinion would demand their sacrifice as an atonement. If we probe the



matter a little farther we shall find that what the moral sense of the people is really opposed to is not corporate enterprise but monopoly.

As already remarked, monopoly may be a feature of any or all forms of organization, but it is not a necessary feature of any. Monopoly is neither better nor worse because it is in the hands of a single individual, a trust, a corporation, or a colossal copartnership. The evils of monopoly, therefore, cannot be destroyed by restricting or even suppressing any one form of economic organization. The remedy must be sought rather in the conditions of competition for all forms of industrial effort. While the corporation, or large capital in some form, is essential to the use of the best economic methods, competition is equally necessary to distribute the benefits thus created to the community.

This is a matter of primary importance to society and to civilization itself. If monopoly could be established in the various departments of industry and so operated as to enable the owners of the monopoly permanently to retain the benefits of economic improvements, it would practically arrest the progress of civilization, for, besides excluding the community from all participation in the increased wealth, it would destroy the incentive to further improvements.

This brings us to the question, does all monopoly prevent lowering of the price? It is commonly asserted by persons very much in evidence just now that all monopoly is alike—bad; that a good monopoly, like a good monarchy, is unthinkable. This may be good politics, but it is poor science. It is no more true that all monarchies are bad than that all republics are good. Neither is it any more true that all monopoly is bad than that all competition is good. Whether a monopoly will be good or bad, whether or no it will tend constantly to distribute the profits and create new margins

by improving methods, will depend upon how the monopoly is acquired and maintained.

There are two ways in which a monopoly may be secured; one is by the use of superior methods and management, outbidding the competitors by furnishing cheaper and better service; the other is through exclusive privileges. Every increase of business, however great, acquired by rendering service superior to one's competitors, is the legitimate reward of competition. To deprive the superior competitor of the reward for his superiority is to discourage superior effort. If the increase of business is to be arbitrarily denied to those who successfully compete for it, then competition will die. There is no point at which the granting of the reward for excellence can be stopped without killing the competition. If by this method one competitor outstrips all the rest and secures control of the entire business, he has a monopoly for the time being, but it is the reward for superior service. It is like a championship in any field of sport, which is acquired by doing better than any and all the rivals. It can be held only by maintaining that same superiority. If the monopoly or control thus acquired is compelled to maintain its position unaided by arbitrary privileges, it will be compelled to continue to furnish superior service in order to hold its superior position. When it relaxes, it is in danger of being superseded by a new rival. So long as the opportunity for new rivals to enter is constantly kept open and inviting, the monopoly, though it has no actual competitors, is constantly under the pressure of potential competition—which stands ever ready to become active as soon as the profit margin is made large enough to warrant the risk of new capital in the enterprise. If the managers of the monopoly thus acquired are short-sighted enough to think that a supremacy once acquired is always assured, and insist upon keep-

ing the price at the maximum and refuse to share the benefits with the public, the inevitable result—and it has occurred a great many times—will be that their exceptional profits will attract new capital into the industry and force the monopoly to disgorge part of its profits, either by buying out the new enterprise at a fabulous sum or by lowering the prices of the product to the community. This potential competition is as constant in its operation as the force of gravitation. It never ceases, day or night; it waits only for the assured opportunity to operate.

In proportion as corporations become exceptionally large, this potential competition becomes a more important factor, because the larger the concerns the more they have to lose by mistakes which invite new competitors. It is more economic, more profitable in the long run, to keep the new competitors out of the field by dividing the profits with the community than to be compelled to divide them with a new rival who may prove their undoing.

Monopoly in any field of enterprise is inimical to public welfare only when it uses its power to exclude the public from the benefits of progress. So long as it uses its enormous power to make nature yield more and divides the increase with the public it is a benefit. So long as large concerns acquire their position by their superior economic ability and are kept constantly under the pressure of either actual or potential competition, the interests of the community are safe, since they can only injure the community by risking their own existence. Their only safety consists in constantly pursuing the methods by which they gained their superior position, namely, by rendering better and cheaper service than any rival can do.

It is contended by some that the tariff is a cause of monopoly in all protected industries; that to the extent



that a corporation product is protected by a tariff, competition is destroyed and a monopolistic element introduced. This is a mistake. The tariff, to the extent that it operates at all, operates equally with all competitors in the same line. Take for instance the iron and steel industry. The Carnegie Company is the giant concern in that industry. In what way does the tariff help Mr. Carnegie against the other iron and steel producers? If it gives 50 per cent. protection to him it gives the same to any others. Whatever affects all equally can give no special advantage to any, and therefore cannot be the cause of monopoly.

The only effect the tariff has on competition is between the producers in this country and abroad. The price of iron, like that of everything else, is necessarily governed in the last analysis by the cost of production of the marginal or dearest increment of the general supply. Now this dearest element is furnished by the small iron and steel manufacturers who have less capital and poorer facilities. The price is adjusted largely by their cost and not by Carnegie's. His profits are much larger than theirs because his prices are the same while his cost of production is very much less. Suppose the tariff were entirely removed from iron and steel products, would that in any way lessen the monopolistic aspect of the Carnegie Company? Not at all; it would probably let in the cheaper products of England and other countries, which would undersell a very large number of Carnegie's smaller competitors. Indeed, a very large number of them would be compelled to retire from business, but the Carnegie Company would in all probability be able to weather the storm. As the small concerns disappeared the Carnegie Company would reach out in the hope of getting a still larger proportion of the American business, and if size means monopoly that would be more monopolistic than

ever. Briefly, the result would be to destroy the small iron producers and increase the size of the few large ones and thus concentrate the iron business in still fewer hands than at present. The truth is, that instead of promoting monopoly the tariff sustains the smaller competitors who could not otherwise exist, and thus checks the growth of monopoly.

Monopolies which come into existence by special privileges are of an entirely different character. In their case both potential and actual competition are arbitrarily excluded. Since the state here takes the place of competition it is clearly its duty to do the work of competition. It may be said that the state can only act arbitrarily and therefore can never do price-fixing and profit-distributing work as well as it can be done by competition. This is true, and for that reason the state should never be substituted for competition where the operation of competition can be secured. But there are cases where economic competition is practically impossible, because the existence of the corporation depends on government action, as in the case of steam and electric railways, gas companies, waterworks, etc., where the operation of the business is possible only by charter and franchise privileges.

In this class of corporations state action should be substituted for competition. There are two ways in which the corporation can be made to share its surplus with the community; one is by lowering the price of its service to the public, and the other is by contributing to the public revenues. Both of these can be reached by the state. The matter of taxation is not very difficult. That can be accomplished quite effectively by treating franchises as real estate and taxing them as such; taking the market value of stock and bonds as the basis of the corporation tax, as is already practically done in some states.

In the matter of service, the state can properly fix the maximum rate that can be charged, but in order to do this it must be put in full possession of all information regarding the economic condition of the corporation. It must have the right of access to all the accounts, so as to ascertain the actual investment, the cost of production, the actual and possible margins. With all this information the state will still act clumsily and often unjustly, but it can do nothing without it. But if the state is not to do more harm than good it is highly important that this duty be entrusted to officers competent to act in accord with economic law and not upon uninformed public sentiment, as they are too prone to do.

Take our railroads, for example. The immense railroad system in this country comprises over 185,000 miles of railroad, with 245,000 miles of track, much of which runs hundreds of miles through nearly uninhabited territory. Large portions of this trackage, with the present travel and transportation, cannot possibly pay expenses. Of course, the prime object of the management is so to conduct the railroad as at least to make it pay working expenses and yield a profit if possible. This has necessarily led to numerous devices in the fixing of rate charges. As if to show how unscientific government officials can sometimes be, in a recent address before a commercial congress at Houston, Texas, Mr. Prouty, a member of the interstate commerce commission, charged the railroads with practicing ruinous discrimination against small concerns and small cities in favor of large corporations and large cities. As a case in point he cited the shipping of nails from Pittsburg, Pa., and Pueblo, Col., to San Francisco, as follows:

"The rate from Pittsburg to San Francisco was a trifle more than one-third the rate from Pueblo to San Francisco, although the distance



was more than twice as great from the former than from the latter place, and although the freight passed or might pass through the city of Pueblo itself. A keg of nails was worth \$2.00 at the mill. It cost the Pittsburg manufacturer 65 cents to transport that keg of nails to the Pacific coast, while it cost the fuel company at Pueblo \$1.60 to transport it to the same point, although the distance from Pittsburg was more than 3,000 miles, while that from Pueblo was less than 1,300 miles, and the freight from Pittsburg actually passed the doors of the fuel company. Manifestly, under these conditions, there could be no competition, and unless that company, having vainly implored the railways for relief, could obtain it from other sources, it would be forced to withdraw its furnaces and discharge its men, constituting a pay-roll of \$10,000 a day. That is a strong case, but it differs in no respect in principle from cases in all parts of the United States."

It must be admitted that on the face of it the case has an ugly seeming, but, if we go behind the seeming to the facts and the reasons for them, we shall find that the cause is economic and not moral as Mr. Prouty thinks.

The present rates per hundred pounds for shipping nails on through lines from New York, Pittsburg and Pueblo to San Francisco in carloads of 40,000 lbs. and less than carloads are as follows:

	Carloads, 40,000 lbs.	Less than carloads.
N. York to San Fran., about 3,250 miles,	\$ .75	\$1.25
Pitts. to   "   "   "   2,819 "	.75	1.25
Pueblo to   "   "   "   1,320 "	.45	.94

It will be seen in the first place that Mr. Prouty is in error as to the facts. The rate from Pueblo is not one-third more than the rate from Pittsburg, as he says, but about one-third less. In large carloads (40,000 lbs.) it is more than one-third less; in less than carloads it is one-fourth less. And, instead of being \$1.60 from Pueblo as against 65 cents from Pittsburg, the rate is only 45 cents (in carloads) from Pueblo as against 75 cents from Pittsburg and New York, and in less than carloads 94 cents from Pueblo as against \$1.25 from New York and Pittsburg. It will also be noticed that

the rate is the same from Pittsburg as from New York, although the distance is 431 miles less.

A careful examination of the case shows that Mr. Prouty's explanation of the motive for making this relative difference in the rate is as far from the truth as his figures are from the facts. Still, the charge is much greater from Pueblo in proportion to the distance than from New York and Pittsburg; as is also the case from Ogden, Utah, and some other places. This seeming unfairness is largely the result not of caprice but of two unavoidable facts, namely, the cost of production and the state of competition. It is essential to a solvent railroad, as of any other business, to make the income from its aggregate business cover the aggregate costs. If competition is such on a part of its system as to make a full paying rate impossible, a relatively higher rate on other portions is indispensable. This is exactly the case in the instance under consideration. The rates for shipping from New York and Pittsburg to San Francisco cannot be fixed on the basis of the average cost for the whole system, because on this through business the railroads are in competition with water routes to the same terminus. If the railroads charged much more than the water rates they would lose the business altogether.

The loss of New York and Pittsburg business would greatly increase the proportion of fixed costs on all the other business and make a very much higher rate necessary elsewhere in order to cover the total costs. The roads therefore take the New York and Pittsburg business at the rate that competition with the water route dictates, in order to avoid greater loss. Consequently they are compelled to fix the rates on other parts of the system, that are not in competition with the water route, at a figure that will make the aggregate earnings cover the aggregate costs. While the Pueblo

people pay higher relative rates than the New York and Pittsburg, they would have to pay still higher rates if New York and Pittsburg rates were raised so as to send the business to the water routes. This shows that a flat rate per mile for transportation, which seems to be the only fair method of treating shippers, would frequently be the most uneconomic of all rates and often greatly increase charges to the smaller shippers. Wherever economic forces are permitted to operate they are always more equitable in the long run than is the wisest government action. Instances of this character are numerous in the railroad economy of this country of immense distances, and in any plan of government regulation should receive adequate consideration. An impartial consideration of the facts seems to justify the conclusions:

First, that trusts as distinct organizations have ceased to exist, hence the question is solely one of corporations.

Second, that the public criticism is not against corporations *per se* but against monopoly.

Third, that monopoly is very much less than is generally supposed, indeed very rarely exists.

Fourth, that monopoly is not necessarily inimical to public welfare, but it is only dangerous when it rests on special privileges.

Fifth, that, wherever actual or potential competition can operate, the benefits of invention and organization will be more equitably distributed through the community by the free action of economic forces than by state action.

Sixth, that class of corporations which receive special privileges in the form of charters and franchises which shield them from the influence of economic competition may properly be subjected to some degree of state supervision.



The first condition of intelligent action on the part of the state is a full knowledge of the economic conditions of the corporations. This clearly involves public accounting with the freest kind of government inspection, though even then in most cases it would be very difficult for the government to fix freight rates for railroads. Competing roads to all important points enable competition to do that more equitably than the government could hope to do it. But there is one general thing the government might do, being in full possession of the accounts and contracts, and that is, insist that uniform rates for the same service shall be charged to all competing shippers. That is to say, that no merchant or manufacturer shipping goods by rail shall have any different rates for the same service than any other shippers large or small shall have between the same points. Rebates should be made a penal offence. This would insure that the railroad service under similar conditions should be the same for all competing shippers. In other words, it would put the railroad service at the command of the public on the same terms to everybody for the same service.

In the case of street railways, gas companies, etc., which operate under franchises excluding competition, the government would probably commit the fewest blunders and violate economic law the least by acting on two simple propositions. First, make the corporations contribute to the public revenues by means of a franchise tax, on the basis of real estate. Second, sell the franchises to the highest bidder, the bidding being not in offering money for the franchise privilege but in offering the lowest rate of tariff to the public, thus sharing the benefits with the taxpayers through a franchise tax and with the traveling public through lower fares.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IN A SPEECH at Laporte, Indiana, September 1st, Mr. Bryan gave this advice to his followers:

"If any republican tells you that the trust is a good thing, ask him why the republican platform denounces the trusts. If a republican says that the trust is a bad thing, ask him why a republican administration allowed more trusts to be organized than were ever organized in all the previous history of the country."

Is it possible that Mr. Bryan doesn't know that the administration has no more to do with "allowing" trusts to organize than it has with allowing the sun to rise? that all corporations organize under state charters over which the national administration has no control? Yet the American people are asked to take this man seriously as a statesman.

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MR. CROKER's candidate for governor in New York is in a peculiarly hard place. He is a gold democrat, hence he cannot talk free silver, but he must not talk gold standard. He is an expansionist and cannot talk scuttle in the Philippines, but must not talk expansion, in which he believes. The only topic left for him is trusts, and for fear of running foul of the Tammany ice trust he started out by attacking department stores as oppressive monopolies, and here he struck Mr. Straus (of the Macy department store), a Tammany pillar, and Mr. Stanchfield was immediately called off. Now the poor man is left to flounder up and down the state denouncing trusts in the abstract. It is needless to say that his talk is boyish, most of it almost silly; but what can the poor man do? He is a Hill democrat nomi-

nated by Croker to support Bryan. He wants to be governor but does not believe in the "paramount" issues of the party. But he served the purpose of preventing the nomination of Coler, for which the corrupt politicians in both parties are thankful.

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IN ATTEMPTING to make trusts a live political issue, Mr. Bryan is forcing the more rational anti-trust papers, like the New York *Evening Telegram*, to take sides against him. This paper says:

"What does Mr. Bryan mean by trusts? Does he mean a monopoly which absolutely controls the production and price of a commodity; which destroys all competition in that commodity and enhances its cost to every consumer? If so, how many such trusts are there, what are they and where are the evidences of their appalling growth? If he means combinations of individuals, companies or corporations in which capital and management are concentrated, he inveighs against a financial, commercial and trade tendency of the times, which has become well-nigh universal not only in this country but abroad. . . . Mr. Croker and his candidate for governor talk as wildly when they assail department stores as baneful trusts. . . . The fact is that much of the campaign talk about trusts is mere rubbish."

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IT IS INTERESTING to watch the ingenuity with which indictments are invented against trusts. For many years the complaint has been that the people of Wall Street are gamblers, that they speculate on the necessities of life at the expense of the people. The middleman has been perpetually abused as a parasite on industry, who does nothing to aid production but collects toll on commodities he never touches. One of the effects of so-called trusts has been to reduce the num-



ber and importance of these middlemen, jobbers, agents, traveling men and boomers, rendered unnecessary by the efficiency of the large organizations. This raised a storm of opposition, and traveling men's anti-trust associations are now working for Bryan as their Jack-the-Giant-Killer. And now the complaint is made that trusts are killing speculation. The *New York Journal of Commerce* has solemnly formulated this charge and gives extensive statistics to show that speculation in wheat and corn and cotton and stocks is greatly diminishing. It is now in order for Mr. Bryan to deliver a speech extolling the virtues of speculation.

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IN THE GRADUAL unfolding of affairs in China it begins to look as if the facts would reveal that the dowager empress, under bad advice of course, was the real cause of the massacre of the missionaries and the attack upon the ministers. From the latest accounts, her personal agent, Li Hung Chang, does not deny this, but on the principle that "the sovereign can do no wrong" he insists that the empress must not be held "personally responsible" or subjected to any indignity for this act. He is evidently willing that the heads of any number of Chinese officials, of the inferior sort, should be given as atonement, but the real criminals are to escape. Of course it is not to be supposed that the European powers will be thus outwitted by the wily old Chinaman. If the facts finally prove that the empress, under no matter what advice, gave her sanction to this brutal outburst of barbarism, then nothing should save her. The guilty should pay the penalty and pay it in a way that the Chinese people will realize that treaties with civilized nations involve obligations which no amount of barbarous despotism can afford to ignore. Unless China is taught this lesson, and taught

it in a way that the Chinese mind can comprehend, the whole invasion of China will have been in vain.

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THE NEW YORK building trades have finally decided to abolish the system of walking delegates. This is an important departure in trade-union policy. The walking delegate came into existence as the result of the systematic policy of employers in discharging those who were the spokesmen in any case of grievance or new demands. To avoid this the unions appointed delegates whose entire salaries were paid by the unions, and this put labor's representative beyond the power of the employers' discharge and blacklist. But the walking delegate gradually became more of a walking autocrat. The men would strike or refuse to strike at his bidding. Thus the work on almost every job in New York depended upon his caprice, and not a few ignorant, hot-headed and otherwise unfit men got themselves elected walking delegates. Thus, what was once a necessity for protection to labor outlived its usefulness and in many cases became an injury to both laborers and employers.

All this shows great progress. If the unions and the employers would both agree to be equally represented in a joint board and agree that no demand for more wages or less hours or other new conditions should be made by the men and no reduction of wages or altered conditions should be made by the employers without first submitting their propositions to this board of representatives, the harmonious working of organized labor and organized capital would be practically accomplished.

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POLITICAL ORPHANS like Bourke Cockran and Carl Schurz are having rather a hard time. Just when for "high moral reasons" they have entered the Bryan

fold on the plea that "the silver question is settled," Secretary Gage shows that Mr. Bryan could order all outstanding coin obligations of the government paid entirely in silver, which would put the country on a silver basis in a month. Mr. Schurz recognizes the danger and asks that the administration party, before it leaves office, to pass a law depriving Bryan of the power to pay silver. This is like asking that a madman be elected president, and then put in irons to prevent him from ruining the country.

Of course Mr. Cockran could not bring himself to anything quite so silly as that, but he tries to justify himself on the ground of Mr. Bryan's high, sterling integrity. Mr. Bryan knows that the country does not want silver, and that the object of the recent currency bill was to establish the gold standard, and he is too honest and honorable, exclaims Mr. Cockran, to do what he knows the nation does not want to have done! In this angelic flight Mr. Cockran appears to have forgotten Mr. Bryan's announcement that: "If there is anyone who believes that the gold standard is a good thing and that it should be maintained I warn him not to cast his vote for me, because I promise it will not be maintained in this country any longer than I am able to get rid of it." It must be embarrassing for these gentlemen to be so burdened with superior wisdom and "high ideals" as constantly to be misunderstood and subjected to the painful suspicion of being too good to be useful, too opinionated to be trusted.

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LIKE THE queen of England, the czar of Russia and other potentates in Europe and millionaires in this country, Mr. Bryan travels in a private palace car. For some reason a railroad company in West Virginia recently refused to hitch his private car to a certain special train and he was forced to travel in an ordinary Pull-



man coach such as Governor Roosevelt, United States senators and other ordinary people ride in. Against this humiliating treatment of Mr. Bryan indignant protests are raised by his followers, who love him most for his simple democratic manners and his opposition to exclusive opulence. As if it were not a serious matter endangering the very bulwarks of free institutions that this representative of the disinherited and oppressed should be thus degraded, the *New York Tribune* makes this comment upon the "outrage":

"For, mark you, the burden of the complaint is that Mr. Bryan was compelled, if he wanted to travel on that Democratic railroad, to do so in an ordinary car. This horny handed son of toil, this plain man of the people, this advocate of Jeffersonian simplicity, this inflexible foe of fuss and flummery, was actually compelled to emerge from the sequestered recesses of a private coach and to ride in a plain, everyday car along with other people. How utterly revolting! If it had been Mark Hanna, now, or that wicked and haughty imperialist William McKinley, it would have been all right. Their feelings would not have been jarred in the slightest. But that this unassuming Democrat, this combined re-incarnation of Cincinnatus, Thomas Jefferson and Solon Chase, should be compelled to jostle elbows with his fellow citizens and ride 'in an ordinary car' with other people—at thought of that the mind recoils and the heart sickens."

There can be no objection to Mr. Bryan traveling in a palace car if he can afford it, but it is too bad that a candidate for the presidency should deem it necessary to be a humbug in order to be popular with the American people.

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*Correction.* On page 248 of our September issue, in the article "Are We a Gothic or Mixed Race?" the types made Mr. Emery say that: "Thirty-two per cent. of the population of two hundred of our largest cities is foreign born." This should have read "twenty of our largest cities" instead of two hundred.

## PRESIDENT HADLEY ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

In the August number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, President Hadley of Yale University declares himself opposed to so-called "political education" in colleges and universities. He contends that the emphasis in all educational work should be placed on developing qualities of character, which make one fit for citizenship, rather than on mere "study of facts about civil government." With much truth he says: "Courage, discipline and loftiness of purpose are the things really necessary for maintaining a free government. If a citizen possesses these qualities of character he will acquire the knowledge which is essential to the conduct of the country's institutions and to the reform of the abuses which may arise."

Development of the higher qualities of character is indeed the main purpose of all true education; on this the emphasis should be laid. Whatever the special subjects studied, there need be no controversy here. Precisely this idea has been repeatedly urged in these pages, both editorially and by special contributors.

But, does President Hadley mean that it makes no difference what particular studies are followed so long as these final objects are kept in view? If so, we might as well adopt the Chinese system and teach nothing but ancient literature. If political education is of no value because it does not directly provide lessons in character-training, why, for the same reason, should time be wasted on mathematics, or history, or languages, or physical science? If true at all, is it not quite as true with respect to all of these as of political education, that, if the student's moral character be right, he need

not study them in college because later on "he will acquire the knowledge which is essential" to solve business problems, understand his country's history, read foreign languages, and live in accordance with nature's physical laws? Granting the importance of the higher purpose which should run through all education, there must be good reasons why each particular branch of study is pursued. Therefore the case is not one against political education on general principles; it is only a question of whether that subject is relatively as important as others ordinarily embodied in the college curriculum.

President Hadley seems to have allowed his personal dislike for a particular line of study to lead his logic inadvertently into a pitfall. To bring up the general final objects of education as an argument against some particular course, without showing that that course is hostile to or aids less than others in attaining those final objects, is assuredly an inadmissible use of argumentative materials. To force in this way a general truism into seeming antagonism to a specific proposition, when in reality there is no relation between the two, savors of the familiar argument that the poverty of the poor is due to the wealth of the rich. It is like saying, for instance: Electric railroads do not illustrate the beauty and inspiration of nature, hence they should be abolished; to which the obvious reply is: They do not, but, besides being immensely useful for other purposes, they carry thousands out of the city streets to the fields and woods and so justify themselves even by your own test. It is not a question whether the whole of any given effort is applied to one single object, but whether the effort is useful in itself and also contributes to the larger end.

This is the test applied to other college studies and that should be applied to political education, which



President Hadley narrows down to mean only the details of governmental machinery. In reality, the term as popularly understood covers the whole broad field of social economics, civics, sociology, and the duties of wise statesmanship and good citizenship. Of course these studies should not be made substitutes for the inculcation of high principles of individual character; no more should engineering, or physical science, or history, or any special study whatever. The true relation of the ultimate ideal to the particular study is that of a purpose or spirit animating and inspiring every department of the educational system. This spirit is not a vague abstract principle, before which students should sit in rapt contemplation while particular studies are matters of indifference. On the contrary, it should be the guide and motive force running through all the courses of study, giving a higher meaning to the whole, and making each particular subject count in some way for general character development as well as for the nearer special object, in culture or practical training, at which it aims. The true system of education will not ignore either of these two great phases; it will devise courses of study with reference both to their special usefulness and their larger capacity for illustrating general truths and developing individual character.

Accepting this proposition, is there any reason why political, economic and sociological studies should rank as of less importance than astronomy or Greek literature? If properly presented, what subjects offered in the average college course are better calculated to arouse broad, human interests and sympathies, or to develop the power of reasoning on vital matters clearly and without passion, or to impress a young man with a sense of the seriousness of his responsibilities and duties as a factor in the highest product of civilization—an orderly human society,—than the general range of

studies included under the term "political education?" All these results are contributions that political education can make to general character-development, not to mention the direct practical advantages of showing young men the fundamental principles which should guide their conduct as citizens and make that conduct count for the general security and welfare of all. Are any wider opportunities for the development of high character ideals offered by the study of Homeric wars, or differential calculus, or geology, or Roman art?

President Hadley's objection to political studies seems to be that they fix attention on the mechanical details of government rather than on its fundamental principles. If so, that is obviously the fault of the method of presenting them, and Dr. Hadley's attention should be devoted to the professors and text-books in Yale University rather than to attacking this whole branch of education *per se*. If observation of some of the courses that currently pass for economic and political education in our colleges is what has stirred up President Hadley, his hostile attitude may be easily understood and will at once enlist sympathy. The point has been emphasized a thousand times in these pages that, so far in the progress of education, this most fruitful group of subjects in the whole range of studies has been least appreciated and therefore most ineffectively and repellently presented. It is, emphatically it is, too often taught as a bunch of dry facts and unchangeable laws, without hopeful meaning or significance, leading nowhere, and thoroughly meriting the long-familiar title of the "dismal science." But, the day when any such botchwork was necessary or even excusable is past. Economic, social and political science has progressed far enough to make it capable of at least partially illuminating and furnishing guidance through an extensive group of hard, practical pro-

blems, all of which enter into and affect the formation of character.

No merely perfunctory study of any subject will yield useful results. It should be inspired by a spirit which seeks, through it, both its own and higher and finer ends. Without this spirit, political and economic education does become narrow, and its objects selfish and mercenary; without it, also, every other branch of study becomes flat and unprofitable. With this spirit present, however, almost any branch of education may be made to serve the great double purpose of practical usefulness and broadening of the individual life. If any subjects must be dropped, we can better dispense with a knowledge of the immoralities and brutal "chivalry" of mythological marauding "heroes," or of the stratification of rocks, or of the comparative merits of mediæval and modern friezes, than with a study of the laws that control and obligations that ought to bind living, acting men, bound together by a million cords of interdependence, at the most advanced and perhaps most critical point in the history of civilization.

HAYES ROBBINS.



## CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

**Education and Cuban Self-Government**      The experiment of bringing some twelve hundred Cuban teachers to the United States for a six weeks' summer course at Harvard University, furnished without charge by that institution, was successfully carried out and will undoubtedly yield important results. After their work at Harvard was finished the teachers were brought to New York and Philadelphia, shown some of the distinctive features of American life, and at least partially familiarized with American ideas, customs and institutions. If such an experiment had been made for the benefit of a newly annexed country, it would be gratifying evidence that the affairs of the new possession were to be administered according to the laws of social progress and the best principles of civilization, but, undertaken as it was, for a people that has been made free and is about to be made independent by our voluntary aid, it is something quite unparalleled in national enterprises and the strongest possible confirmation of the integrity of our purposes and conduct towards Cuba. It reveals a genuine desire to make the people of that island fit for self-government, so that when the reins are placed in their own hands the country may not relapse into anarchy or split up into a group of petty despotisms. This is the real way to bring the principle of the consent of the governed into practical application, just as the marching out of Cuba at the close of the Spanish war and declining to exercise any authority would have been the certain way of preventing that principle from going into effect, perhaps for generations. Freedom is a structure long in building, and education is one of its main cornerstones. The *Boston Herald* suggests that this visit

of the Cuban teachers be followed by the founding of a Cuban university in Cuba, organized on American lines—a proposition deserving hearty encouragement.

**Closing the  
Doors of  
Opportunity**      New Orleans has decided to discontinue all grammar-school education for colored children and admit them to nothing above the primary grade. Following so closely on the heels of the anti-negro riots in that city, with the burning of the extensive and expensive Lafon school, built by a negro for the education of negroes, this is particularly discouraging. It is in line with the increasing tendency in the South, first, to provide an educational test for negroes at the polls, second, to restrict their educational opportunities so that they will never be able to meet that test, thus making disfranchisement as universal as possible.

The southern people are dealing with a most vexatious problem, but it can never be solved by injustice and retrogression. There could be little complaint of an educational test if it applied to whites and blacks alike, but to let in illiterate whites and shut out illiterate blacks is of course in direct violation of the whole spirit and intent of free institutions. Still, there might even be toleration of this discrimination if it were coupled with an effort to increase the educational opportunities of the disfranchised race, and so open the way for them to regain the ballot. But, to accompany this one-sided educational test with a lessening of existing school facilities for black children is the very climax of oppressive class legislation. To abrogate political rights expressly conferred by the constitution, with no provision for restoring them or intention that they shall ever be restored, is infinitely more dangerous to the principle of free government than anything our armies are doing in the Orient. There, at least, we are eager

and anxious to confer upon the people all the rights of self-government they can exercise, as soon as order and peace can be restored, but the New Orleans plan is deliberately based on the opposite intention.

In saying this, there is no disposition whatever to belittle the southerners' side of the case or to be unfair in any way. Southern people are justly entitled to point the finger at the anti-negro outbreaks in New York city and the mob outrage in Akron, Ohio. New York was disgraced by the conduct of its police officers, in not suppressing the attacks on negroes at the very outset; and it cannot even escape reproach on the educational question when, every fall, thousands of children are unable to find accommodation in the schools. This, however, is the result of bad administration, not of design or intent to deprive any child of full educational opportunities. It is Tammany politics, not a public policy chosen and endorsed by the people; while the Akron outrage, bad as it was, had no defenders in the North, and officers of the law succeeded in rescuing the criminal and punishing him by regular processes. But, the doubly repressive attitude and legislation of the South is directly calculated to keep the black race forever in a state of degradation, ignorance and practical serfdom. We may, for necessity's sake, agree to the suspension of some of the negro's privileges, but to close his doors of opportunity is something that ought never be tolerated within the limits of the republic. It is the next thing to a return to ante-bellum slavery.



## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

#### Free Silver and Prices

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The advocates of bimetalism are not convinced of the benefits or principle of the gold standard. The increase of over two hundred millions of new gold in the commercial world since 1896 has been beneficial as far as it goes, and has raised the general price level perceptibly. The increase of credit money by the national bank act, which will probably amount to one hundred million dollars this year, while great as a circulating medium has been imperceptible in its effect on prices. The new gold stimulated business and was in turn absorbed largely by the business it had stimulated. The increase of credit money, poured in at a time of great business activity, afforded money for loans,—a gain to the banker but of no effect on the prices of commodities to the producer. Perhaps never in the financial history of the United States was there such an experiment made under such favorable conditions, showing the effects of standard money to stimulate business and raise prices, followed by an issue of credit money with no new business and a slight fall in the price level.

The next phase to be observed will be the effect on this credit money of the diminution of gold supply, in fact or by comparison with the business demanded of it. Any disturbance of gold supply by war or by exhaustion of mines means a contraction of credit money and financial losses. The beneficial effects of an increase of standard money upon business and the comparative inertness of an issue of credit money must be noticeable to all. Coupled with these was the menace of disaster, if the Transvaal gold supply were to be cut off for a considerable period by war. Within a brief period of four years have these events crowded one upon the other, and in result are most convincing of the claims of the bimetalist. The evils of a diminished standard of price measurement are most noticeable in the fall of prices of real products, while incorporeal values, like bonds, mortgages and all evidences of indebtedness, together with the incomes of those persons or corporations whose returns are in fixed or customary fees, or are not determined by competition, have not changed. This divides the industrial world into two classes; one, whose returns are determined by a diminished standard of value, finds its income lessened; the second class finds its income remaining the same as before, but with an increased purchasing power. Thus the productive class as a whole are losers to the distributive class, who gain what the former lose. The increase of urban at the expense of rural population during the last two decades is simply a concession that population makes to the places of greater compensation. The various New York trust companies are engaged exclusively as handlers of incorporeal wealth. The New York *Independent* gives the following table of increase in values of certain trust companies' stocks:

	1900.	1895.
United States . . . . .	1575	875
Union . . . . .	1400 $\frac{1}{2}$	712
U. S. Mortgage. . . . .	530	192
Metropolitan. . . . .	400	290
Guaranty . . . . .	600	348
Farmers' Loan. . . . .	1425	760
Continental . . . . .	400	164

As compared to this condition is that of agriculture, an industry not possible to dispense with nor to combine, the basis of all industry and in the United States the greatest single industry. During a period when science and invention have done for it the most, prices have depreciated and the actual value per acre has lessened. The manufacturer in the United States up to within a few years was a sufferer from low prices caused by the diminished standard of values, and to raise himself to the price plane of the distributive class combination was necessary and defensible.

Labor unions openly proclaim their desire to raise the compensation of their members to a plane approaching that of the distributive class, or to counteract some cause continually at work to lower wages. If some class in industry did not enjoy some advantages in the matter of compensation, how illogical the attempt of other classes to attain that position. A general rise or fall of prices in all lines does no injury, but any action that reduces the compensation of one class to the advantage of the other is bound to produce contention. An increased supply of the standard of value, whether of gold or silver, will raise the general price level of products under competition, and the compensation of the producer of raw materials and of manufactured goods will be raised to the plane of those in the non-competitive classes or above until the general level is restored among all classes. This is the goal and the hope of the bimetalist, and whether his method is wise



or unwise the question will never be dead until the adjustment be made.

JAMES N. MCBRIDE, Cashin, Col.

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Without going into the merits of our correspondent's position in detail, a few points should be noted briefly:

First; the increased supply of gold was not the cause of recent price increases. Had it been, all prices would have risen, and practically to the same extent, whereas prices of many articles have fallen and others have remained stationary. The price increases that did occur came as the result of an extraordinary increase in demand for products, following the restoration of confidence in financial and tariff policies. This enlarged demand necessitated the building of new factories, reopening of old mines and prospecting for new, etc., thus causing for a time increased cost of production and hence higher prices.

Second; we agree with our correspondent that the increase in bank circulation did not raise prices, but neither did the increase in gold. The majority of prices are now declining, as he states, but the supply of gold is still increasing and per capita circulation has just reached the highest point in our history. Prices are not determined by the quantity of money, whether gold, silver or paper. This point has been discussed often in these pages, perhaps most fully in the issues of September and November, 1896.

Third; our correspondent speaks of the fall in farm prices "during a period when science and invention have done for it the most," without seeming to realize that it is just this influence of science and invention that, by lessening the cost of production, has caused most of the decline. Such decline as has taken place,

however, has been chiefly confined to grain products; meat and dairy products and "garden truck" have been rising, not falling, in price.

Fourth; if the purpose of combinations of capital was to raise prices to some "general level" enjoyed by the holders of fixed securities, they have signally failed. Taking any reasonable period of years as a basis of comparisons, prices in practically every important industry where concentration has taken place have materially fallen instead of risen. Moreover, the supposed fixed "general level" of incomes received by the favored bondholder class is wholly a myth; there is no such "general level," and interest rates have for years been falling,—witness, as an index, the successive re-funding operations of our railroad corporations. Extension of banking facilities will still further accelerate this decline in interest rates, especially in agricultural sections.

Fifth; gradually declining prices do not necessarily mean hardship. Where they come as a result of lower cost of production there is almost always an increased output, so that the net total returns may even be larger, with the lower margin of profit; while all consumers are benefited. Our correspondent's quarrel, therefore, must be with science and invention, which cheapen productive methods. He can hardly mean that he wants a leveling-up "adjustment" between producers and interest-receivers at a time when prices of most products are high while interest rates are declining.

## BOOK REVIEWS

NOTES ON POLITICAL ECONOMY. By a New Zealand Colonist. Cloth, 204 pages. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The author of this work is evidently of the old English school. He states the doctrine of value, price and wages with the usual defects of the Ricardian era, but he has evidently been quite wholesomely affected by the "living-wage" discussion in England during the last decade. Notwithstanding the influence of the supply and demand doctrine upon his thinking he clearly grasps the idea that the standard of living exercises a very important if not controlling influence in determining wages, and he observes also (page 176) that: "Education not only raises the standard of human life but impels to resistance if wages fall below the point which that standard dictates. . . . To popular education we must look to raise the standard of life and afterwards to enlist public sympathy in every struggle to maintain it." In his strong insistence on the living-wage standard, he says (pages 179, 180):

"If it be found that any particular industry cannot be undertaken or cannot be continued on these terms, the burden should be removed from the shoulders of the capitalists and the industry assumed, if practicable, by the state. If that be not practicable, far better abandon it altogether as a public nuisance and a national wrong. Abandoned also, as a gross national wrong, should all industries be that can only exist by substituting for home labour the labour of inferior races, who are sure to sap the national life, and to prove a broken reed when a time of emergency comes."

This seems to be carrying the standard of living



idea to a dangerous extreme. If private enterprise cannot make an industry pay at the standard wages of the community, it is hardly to be expected that the state can, and if the state has to conduct the industry at a loss it is practically raising wages by taxation, which is uneconomic in every aspect. However, it is worth something to have New Zealand economics discussed from the point of view that the social standard of living among the wage class is the real determining force on wages, and also to have the moral idea enter that the standard of living should not be low, and that education and improved opportunities are the real methods of increasing wages. Whatever else this doctrine accomplishes, it will tend to give the community or country that adopts it a high, intelligent grade of citizenship, which is the surest background for the progress of civilization.

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES. By James H. Hopkins. Cloth, 473 pages, \$2.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

This is in many respects an excellent survey of the growth and development of political parties in this country. It opens with a general account of the questions which gave rise to party affiliations and theories. The first chapter is devoted to the "Federalists, Anti-Federalists, Democrats, Republicans," covering the period from 1798 to 1824. It also contains a full text of all the party platforms from 1840 to 1896, together with the electoral vote by states of the four national elections from 1884 to 1896. Although it is rather a formidable book, it does not very clearly elucidate the merits of the national questions out of which parties have arisen and upon which they have divided. For instance, in describing the early years of the century the author barely mentions the fact that Hamilton

established the first bank of the United States. He does say that Jefferson was opposed to it, as being beyond the authority of the constitution. He tells of Jackson's veto of the bill granting a renewal of the charter to the second bank of the United States, but says nothing whatever as to the merits of the bank. No hint is given of the fact that the first bank of the United States, established by Hamilton, put the nation on a sound financial basis, nor is the fact referred to that after the lapse of the charter of the first bank financial chaos and wildcat banks pervaded the country, until the second bank was chartered under Madison as a last resource to save the nation from financial ruin, when, within a year after the charter was granted, the bank reestablished financial solvency and brought the bank currency of the country up to par.

In reviewing the periods of political perturbation arising from the tariff the author is very brief; practically nothing is said of the results of the attacks on the various tariffs, but only the dates of introducing the bills, votes in congress, etc., are given. The pen of the author is evidently tilted against the protective policy, though not strongly flavored with partisanship. His discussion of the period of the Wilson bill comes the nearest to an unfair narration of history. True, he refers to the depression of business and consequent discontent of the Cleveland period, but if the reader should rely on the author's account of that time he would get an entirely wrong idea of the causes which led to the disaster. He says: "The increasing of the national debt, and, necessarily, of the interest burden, in a time of profound peace, aroused excited and indignant opposition," as if that were the cause of the business disturbance and political uprising, whereas no fact in our history is more obvious than that the disruption of business and financial disturbance from 1893 to 1897 was

the result of the policy of the Cleveland administration in attacking the tariff policy and radically disturbing the basis of business throughout the country.

Yet, on the whole, as a narration of the facts in political party history, it is a useful and readable book. It puts together in brief and connected form the political events not easily found recorded elsewhere. As a political hand-book it will be convenient for political writers and speakers. Its value is chiefly as a book of reference for specific facts, and for this purpose its usefulness would have been greatly increased by a more complete index.

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CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. By his son, Charles Francis Adams. Cloth, 402 pages, \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

This is strictly a biography of Charles Francis Adams, very full of personal detail, yet covering so large a part of our active history that the bare facts connected with his public life are an account of many of the important events in American history. This fact alone makes the book both interesting and instructive. In the greatest event occurring in Mr. Adams' time, however,—the civil war—he was a negative quantity. In a time when almost every citizen, however humble, was pronounced in his feelings and opinions, Mr. Adams, according to his son's account, was colorless, being regarded as "an unknown." He had been abroad so much that his opinions were more colored with foreign than domestic affairs. Whatever else may be said of Mr. Adams, this can hardly be put to his credit. For a person in public life and frequently holding public office not to have had an opinion on the civil war, or having one to have been so absolutely silent regarding it as to be "an unknown," was, to say the least, evidence of indifferent patriotism.



SOCIAL ELEMENTS. By Charles Richmond Henderson. Cloth, 405 pp. \$1.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This is an attempt to discuss sociology in a brief and suggestive rather than constructive form. It is rather a running notation of social facts and forces than a discussion of social principles. Naturally, therefore, the author liberally refers to and quotes from current historic, economic and sociological writers. It is written from a humane and eminently progressive point of view, although it uses Malthus's population theory and the wage-fund doctrine as equally meritorious. It quotes from Garfield, Mazzini, Milton and Tennyson in the same breath. It is withal interestingly prepared and may be read with great profit, especially by students who are unfamiliar with scientific economic literature, but the close student, seeking logical discussion of the principles of sociology, will find little in it to his purpose. It also has the defect against which all readers have the right to protest, namely, no index.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

##### *ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC*

*America's Economic Supremacy.* By Brooks Adams, author of "The Law of Civilization and Decay." Cloth, 222 pp., \$1.55. The Macmillan Company, New York. An examination of the causes of financial and industrial convulsions in recent years.

*Elementary Physical Geography. An Outline of Physiography.* By Jacques W. Redway, F. R. G. S. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.25. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Fully illustrated, and containing numerous maps, charts and diagrams.

## FROM SEPTEMBER MAGAZINES

"It is historical that 'Praise God' Barebones was a Puritan leather dealer of Fleet Street, who became the fanatical leader of the Parliament convened by Cromwell in 1653. His own name must have been satisfactory, as the one that he inflicted upon his son was 'If-Christ-had-not-died-for-thee-thou-would-have-been-damned' Barebones. It is needless to add that the name was effectively shortened to 'Damned Barebones.' Another historic name was 'Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith,' White, while one worthy of remembrance is 'Kill-sin' Pimple.—E. W. WATROUS, in "Surnames and Christian Names;" *The Chautauquan*.

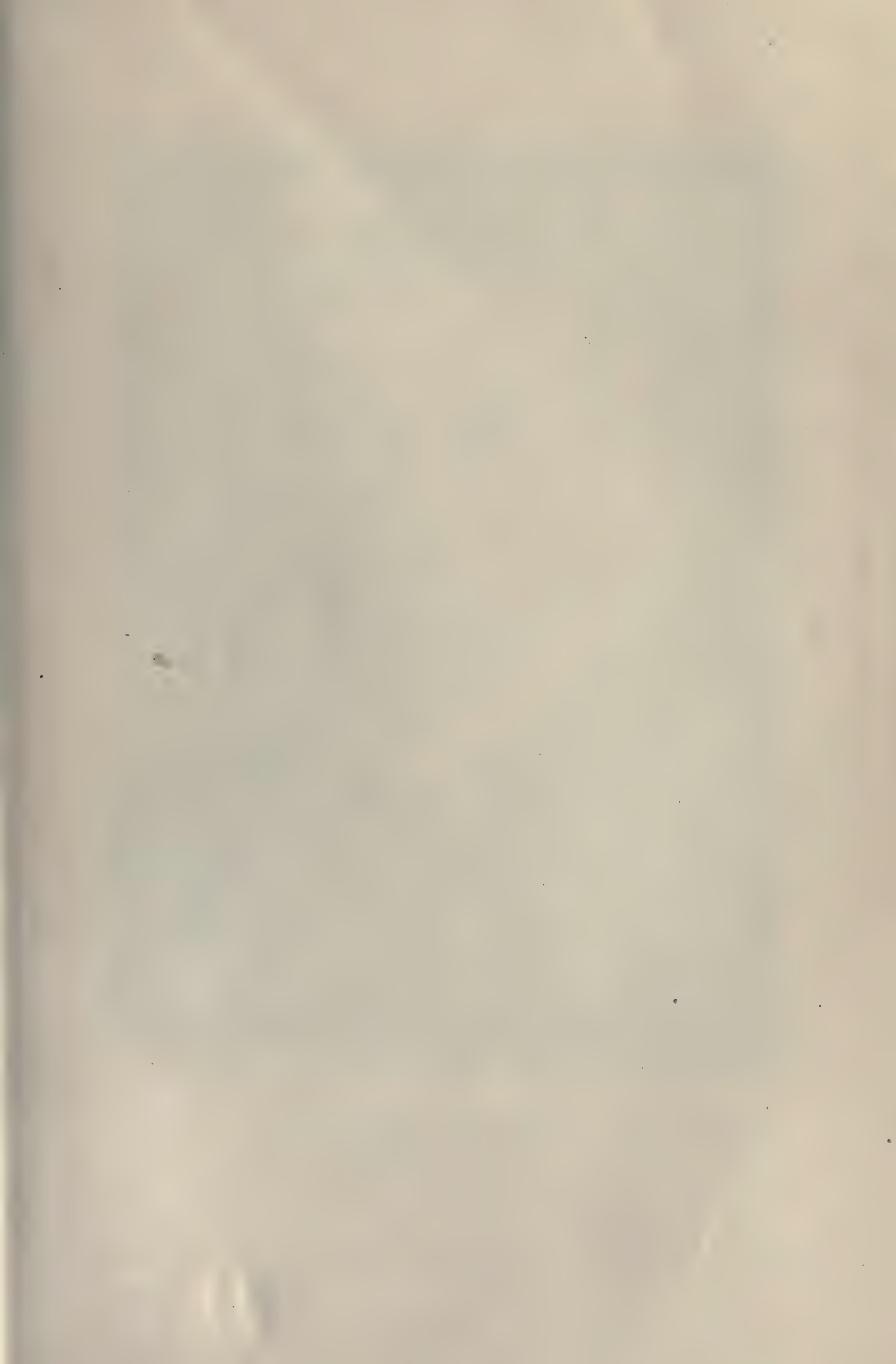
"Many politicians are not political machinists. In England, indeed, while nearly every public man is a partisan politician, few of the leading public men are political machinists. Mr. Chamberlain is, or is supposed to be, a rare exception to the general rule. In this country, Messrs. Reed, Edmunds, Blaine, Bayard, Thurman, all partisan politicians, and none of them wholly ignorant of partisan political machinery, yet were not political machinists, as was Mr. Tilden, for example. None of them could have properly managed his own campaign in an important popular election, as Tilden could and did manage it. No one of the men first mentioned was a boss, or could have been; their lack of training as political machinists forbade it; but Tilden, though a most accomplished machinist, yet was no boss."—FRANCIS C. LOWELL, in "The American Boss;" *Atlantic Monthly*.

"The spiritual biography of Count Tolstoy is studded with contradictions. As a prophet he typifies perpetual

motion. From arid materialism he oscillated toward qualified orthodoxy, and later, under the inspiration of Sutayeff, a poor stone-cutter preacher whom he afterwards disowned, he blazed forth as the re-discoverer of the True Doctrine of Christ, re-edited the Gospels, and reduced his life to the primitive level of the *moujik*. It was a magnificent negation of material progress, it smacked of the New Testament and of the old Rousseau. With a touch of fustian and of futility he cast aside broadcloth and clad himself in sheepskin, a round cap, and the rough boots of the *moujik*. All of which was both sincere and artificial, and not unaccountable in the avowed vegetarian who has been known to consume huge cuts of beef on the sly."—CHRISTIAN BRINTON, in "Tolstoi Under the Ban;" *The Critic*.

"With all its merits, Confucianism is seriously wanting in attractiveness to the masses, who really know very little about it. It is a system for the philosopher in his study, not for the peasant at the plough-tail. It offers no consolations of any kind, save those to be derived from a consciousness of having done one's duty. The masses, who respect learning and authority above all things, accept Confucianism as the criterion of a perfect life. They daily perform the ceremonies of ancestral worship in all loyalty of heart, and then go off and satisfy other cravings by the practice of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism and Taoism, which have so much more to offer by way of reward. Still, wherever Chinamen go they carry with them in their hearts the two leading features of Confucianism, the patriarchal system and ancestral worship."—HERBERT A. GILES, in "Confucianism in the 19th Century;" *North American Review*.







JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

*British Secretary of State for the Colonies*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

### Election Prospects

Representatives of both the republican and democratic national committees have made election forecasts, based, of course, on "the most trustworthy information." The republican claim is 284 electoral votes for McKinley, the democratic prophecy is 316 for Bryan. Exaggeration is more apparent in the democratic case, because as the campaign draws to a close the drift of sentiment seems to be steadily towards President McKinley's reelection. Among western voters, to a large extent, expansion is more popular than the gold standard is unpopular, while in the east the expected general return of gold democrats to the party ranks has not materialized. About the only really conspicuous gold democrats who supported McKinley in 1896 and are now for Bryan are ex-Secretary Richard Olney, Carl Schurz, Edward M. Shepard and Bourke Cockran,—none of them men of large personal following.

On the other hand, the list of gold democrats who have recently declared, either expressly or by implication, against Bryan is very large and steadily growing. It includes, for example, ex-Secretaries Fairchild and Carlisle, ex-Comptroller Eckels, William B. Hornblower, Oswald Ottendorfer and with him the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, ex-Secretary Dickinson, President Hyde of Bowdoin College, the *Chicago Record*, ex-Mayors



Grace and Hewitt of New York, and many others, while the national democratic party has issued an address calling on all gold democrats to unite against the free-silver prophet. Curiously enough, two prominent free-silver men, United States Senators Butler of North Carolina and Stewart of Nevada, have declared for Mr. McKinley on the expansion issue as being more important than the money question.

About the only notable republican converts to Bryan on the so-called "imperialism" issue are ex-Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts, Senator Wellington of Maryland, and former Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Webster Davis, who is working overtime for Bryan in the hope, apparently, that among the other political miracles to follow a democratic victory will be the expulsion of England from South Africa. Many prominent republicans, like Senator Hoar, ex-President Harrison and Andrew Carnegie, who have been recognized as opposed, either wholly or in part, to the president's foreign policy, will nevertheless support him for reelection because of the greater menace of Bryanism.

**Mr. Bryan in  
New York**

The democratic campaign reached its climax in the East with the demonstration in honor of William J. Bryan in New York city on the evening of October 16th, when the candidate addressed great audiences in Madison Square Garden, Tammany Hall, Cooper Union, and an open-air meeting in Madison Square.

If anything more was needed to impress the serious nature of the menace Mr. Bryan offers to industrial and social stability in this nation, it was amply furnished by the character of these appeals, addressed chiefly to the workingmen of the metropolis. It is entirely within the truth to say that no such spectacle as Mr. Bryan's candidacy has ever before been offered in the

political history of the United States. There have been campaigns of intense bitterness, and campaigns involving issues of the gravest national concern, but never before has a man twice come within close reach of the presidency on the strength, almost wholly, of deliberate appeals to every sentiment of envy and prejudice which makes for class hatred and social upheaval. Whatever the merit of isolated paragraphs or sentences, no serious American could listen to Mr. Bryan's Madison Square address, noting the insinuating, subtle emphasis placed on every point that could be expected to rouse the spirit of bitterness, watching furthermore the quick and enthusiastic response of the audience to these sallies, without a feeling of profound apprehension. Whether defeated or elected, the influence of this man has had already a demoralizing influence on the character of public opinion in this country. Relying on the prestige of his oratory and great prominence, and assisted by an army of cheap demagogues of the sort who take their cue from any new popular leader, he is, by ingenious misrepresentation of industrial conditions and tendencies, rapidly stirring up an amount and extent of suspicion, distrust and social antagonism that probably never before has been approached in our national history. He is doing this, recklessly unmindful of the fact that to divide an organized society into hostile classes and widen the gulf between them is the surest road to the very "imperialism" Mr. Bryan pretends to denounce. This is the universal experience and testimony of history. To encourage and stimulate these splitting-up tendencies is more dangerous to the cause of human freedom and progress than would be a deliberate attempt by the president to overthrow the constitution and make himself emperor. Any such wild undertaking could only momentarily disturb the surface of affairs; it would fail utterly and the nation go

forward as before. But, to rend a community into antagonistic groups is to strike at the very basis of government and of orderly social progress, undermining the whole complex structure of organized human co-operation, fashioned and fitted together all down through the centuries by the painful toil and hard experience of nations and races of men.

We do not mean to imply that Mr. Bryan or any man or set of men could in their day and generation bring about any such calamity, either for the race or any particular nation; but, whoever attempts to make more difficult the free and peaceable cooperation of all the people, in industry and government, is wantonly attacking the one priceless product of civilization, and may seriously interrupt progress if not literally arrest it for a long period of time.

**How the Poison  
is Instilled**

If the charges were true, upon which Mr. Bryan bases his appeals to social discontent, there might be justification for stirring up the spirit of revolt under conditions so intolerable. To declare that his charges are not true is not to say by any means that our industrial system is perfect or anywhere near perfect. Man's control over nature is not yet complete enough to maintain every human being in affluence, and, although comfort was never so general in the world as it is to-day, and the progress is steadily upward, nobody knows when if ever the ideal condition of universal plenty will be reached. But—and herein lies the subtle evil of his influence—Mr. Bryan marshals together these common hardships and imperfections which still exist in the very necessity of things and can only be worked out by the slow process of evolution, and charges the blame for them upon the very forces that in reality are at work bringing about better and better conditions. The



effect of this is to draw men blindly into a misdirected, fruitless struggle against the forces of progress, in the vain hope of curing in this way evils that for the time being exist in the nature of things, while at the same time turning attention away from policies that tend to build up instead of tear down, and teaching men to look to government as a universal cure-all instead of depending chiefly and primarily on individual enterprise and self-reliance.

A few examples from Mr. Bryan's Madison Square Garden speech make this clear. Addressing himself to workingmen especially, he exclaimed :

"Take the laboring man and see how long it would take him, working at the wages he gets, to earn enough to make him independent. . . . Tell me the laboring man is prosperous when the laboring man must send his son and his daughter out to work to help support the family, when they ought to be in school."

The world did not need to wait until 1900 A. D. to be told that wage-earners cannot save up the same amount of wealth that sometimes comes (and sometimes does not) to the men who, through superior energy, ability and willingness to take risks, become leaders of industry. Even if average wages were \$10 a day, few wage-earners would save up a competence, because the wages then as now would simply measure their customary standard of living. This is a simple fact of universal experience, over which neither Mr. Bryan nor any of his policies could exert the slightest influence. Yet it is held up as an outrage and the responsibility charged to "trusts," notwithstanding that never before in the world's history was the wage-earner's income so large and his opportunities for advancement so numerous as to-day under the very era of "trusts" or large corporations.

The reference to workingmen having to send their children to toil in the mills is of the same order. A

century ago, before "trusts" were ever heard of, it was the universal rule for workingmen's children to labor in the mills, twelve and fourteen hours a day. To-day there is hardly a civilized country that has not restricted child labor and insisted upon a certain amount of schooling. Through nearly all the northern and eastern states of this country, laws of this character have been enacted during the very *regime* of corporations and "trusts." The only quarter of the United States where this child-labor evil is still shamefully neglected, and little tots work in the mills from before daylight until after dark, with no schooling whatever, is in Mr. Bryan's own chief stronghold, the cotton states of the South. As in the other instance, Mr. Bryan points to whatever evils still exist in this line and charges the responsibility for them upon the only forces that have ever worked or are working for their removal. A fair parallel to this would be, for example, to demand the destruction of all school-houses because some children are not getting an education, and then making up the school-boards of the very parents or others who have prevented these few children from ever getting inside schoolroom doors.

**Claptrap for  
Farmers**

Although, four years ago, free silver was the one ray of hope Mr. Bryan could see for the farmer, he is ignoring and avoiding this issue in 1900 as if it were lightning instead. It is the "trusts" now that are ruining American agriculture. In his Madison Square Garden speech he said:

"Tell me that the farmer prospers when every decade shows that he possesses a less and less percentage of the wealth of the country."

Of course, and our farmers might be rolling in luxury and this statement remain literally true. The *proportion* of agricultural wealth to that invested in

manufactures, commerce and transportation is diminishing, not because agriculture is actually decreasing but simply because these other industries are advancing the more rapidly, which is in the nature of things. Agriculture, which is the furnishing of food supplies, can only increase about in proportion as population increases. When the people's wants begin to expand and diversify and call for a larger and larger variety of manufactured and artistic products, the industries required to furnish these products must necessarily grow faster than agriculture, and if progress is to continue this relative disparity must constantly become greater. While agriculture may increase and prosper from generation to generation, the production of an endless variety of manufactured and artistic commodities will of course increase at a still more rapid rate. Mr. Bryan could only stop this movement by restricting the human race forever to consuming only the physical necessities of life. Yet this natural and wholesome movement is held up as a monstrous injustice and the remedy is to smash "trusts!"

**Militarism and  
the Workingman**

The same studied effort to create distrust and hostility towards our institutions runs through nearly everything Mr. Bryan is saying in reference to "militarism" and "imperialism." The specter of militarism is conjured up as another means of bidding for the support of every man who has a grievance of any description, or has fewer dollars in his pocket than his employer,—as if that were some new kind of outrage which a democratic victory could remedy!

In addressing a crowd of workingmen at Yonkers, for example, the morning after his New York speeches, he summarized in a few words the real gist of the central appeal to which his campaign has degenerated:



"The democratic party to-day is made up from the ranks of the occupied and not from society people. The poor man is in the party because he wants a chance in life and demands equal rights for all. The democratic party is for him and the republican party is arrayed against him. The republican party stands for the rich and for monopolies and trusts. The republican party is against all chances for the poor."

Not content with trying to brand at least one-half the people of this country as deliberate foes of the poor, engaged in plotting their ruin, he is seeking to array labor organizations against—not the republican party alone—but in this instance the United States government itself;—witness this piece of ineffable nonsense, spoken at Indianapolis and elsewhere during October and repeated as follows at Madison Square Garden:

"I believe that one of the reasons that they want a large army is to build a fort in this city and use the army to suppress by force that discontent that ought to be cured by legislation."

Of course, if this were true the duty of all patriotic Americans would be to drop political campaigning at once and organize a revolution. To be satisfied with electing Bryan as a remedy for this sort of tyranny would be like offering an umbrella to a drowning man. Coming from a street-corner spellbinder this roorback would be only mildly amusing; coming from a candidate for the presidency of the United States it is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.

This is  
Very Near  
Treason

Mr. Bryan and his followers have no monopoly of dissatisfaction with many features of our present Philippine policy. Mistakes were made there in the beginning, of which we are still paying the penalty, but no political revolution is needed to extract us from that situation. Congress can at any time adopt the Cuban policy towards the Philippines, but there is no honorable course open to our government to-day except to finish the task of

restoring order and establishing a stable government in the islands. This must be done, not only for our own sakes but in order to get any real knowledge of the wishes of all the Filipinos. To establish, first of all, a stable government is exactly what the democratic platform itself demands, and therefore Mr. Bryan was not only false to his own party program but swung very close to the boundary line of treason when he declared, in his Madison Square Garden speech, that: "They do me too much honor" who charge that "but for the hope of my election the Filipinos would lay down their arms in despair."

Mr. Bryan may succeed in making thousands of people believe that President McKinley is a blood-thirsty tyrant for trying to do exactly what the democratic platform says must be done first of all, but he cannot persuade them to elect to the presidency a man who openly boasts that his candidacy is encouraging the hopeless resistance of men who are to-day shooting American soldiers and firing on our flag. Grant that the flag is in the Philippines without the consent of the Filipinos; it was also floating over Fort Sumter in 1861 without the consent of the South Carolinians. In neither case could or can any American patriot have but one duty towards the hand of force raised against it.

**The Only  
Tangible  
Imperialism**

There is no more danger of "imperialism" growing out of our Philippine policy, mistaken though it may be in itself, than there was when Abraham Lincoln forced the southern states to remain in the union against their will and emancipated the slaves "without the consent" of their masters. Here at home, however, and close at hand, there are some very real kinds of "imperialism," about which the American people know something by bitter experience. The one form of political despotism

this country needs to dread is furnished in the dominance of corrupt political rings like Tammany Hall. Under the rule of this brutally unscrupulous organization for public plunder, New York city is forced to support an army of official parasites, drawing excessive pay for half-rendered services, while vice flourishes under police protection, and the social conditions of the masses, which are most closely affected by the quality of municipal government, are persistently neglected. It is of this cabal of political freebooters that Mr. Bryan exclaimed in his Tammany Hall speech: "I am here for a moment to express my appreciation of the work which is being done in this campaign by this great Tammany organization," and later in Cooper Union: "Great is Tammany and Croker is its prophet."

Another type of imperialism of which we know something here at home is illustrated in certain southern states, which lately have been nullifying the 15th amendment to the constitution of the United States by passing laws to disfranchise the negro. Mr. Bryan may take occasion to laud Tammany, but he has not the courage to discuss his party's attitude on the "consent of the governed" doctrine in the South, and so merely ignores it. In his Madison Square Garden speech he exclaimed: "Beware, my friends, of a president who becomes greater than the constitution!" But it is more probable that the American people in this election will act on the principle of: "Beware of a political party that deliberately defies the national constitution in a whole group of states, and beware of a candidate for the presidency who points away from this to a fictitious imperialism seven thousand miles distant, while lavishing praise at home on the one type of political despotism the people of this nation have genuine reason to fear."



**The Coal  
Strike**

The popular idea, voiced on every hand whenever a labor disturbance arises, that "strikes always fail," seems certain to be once more refuted in the imminent success of the striking miners in Pennsylvania. Their experience is not an extraordinary exception to the rule; statistics show that a respectable proportion of all strikes are wholly successful, while the larger part of them are successful either in whole or in part. Complete failures are in the minority.

This coal-miners' strike began on September 15th, extended over several counties in the anthracite section of eastern Pennsylvania, and has involved more than three-quarters of the 140,000 miners in that region. The original demands were for an increase of wages, ranging from 10 to 20 per cent. for different classes of employees, semi-monthly payments, abolition of company stores, reduction of the price of powder from \$2.75 to \$1.50 per keg, recognition of the miners' union, and payment of wages on the basis of 2,240 instead of 3,360 pounds to the ton. This last was in reality a demand for 50 per cent. additional increase in wages, because the existing rates for mining a ton of coal have long been adjusted on the basis of digging 3,360 pounds of rough material, which is found on the average to contain about 1,120 pounds of stone and dirt. Therefore, of course, the rate per ton has been 50 per cent. higher than if a ton of clean coal had been agreed upon as the basis, and to ask that the present rate be retained while the basis is changed is to demand in reality 50 per cent. more wages.

This strike has been one of the most thoroughly organized and on the whole orderly that ever occurred in the coal fields. While there were numerous collisions between the marching strikers and sheriff's deputies, the only really serious encounter was at Shenandoah on

September 21st, where, in attempting to disperse a riotous disturbance, the deputies fired on the crowd, killing a man and a child and wounding several others. This deplorable tragedy, while not fairly comparable with the Hazleton shooting of two years ago, was one of the almost inevitable incidents that may be expected to accompany outbreaks of lawless violence anywhere, and it is seldom clear just where the blame rests.

Three of the largest coal corporations involved in this struggle,—the Pennsylvania and Reading Coal Company, the Lehigh Coal Company and the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, undertook to break the strike by posting notices, on October 1st and 2nd, of a 10 per cent. increase in wages to all their employees. Several smaller companies did the same, but nobody returned to work. Indeed, this sign of weakening on the part of the operators undoubtedly encouraged the miners to hold out for their entire program. At the same time, President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers determined to call a convention of the men to consider these offers from operators. The convention met at Scranton on October 12th and, rather unexpectedly, agreed to accept the operators' offer under certain conditions. It is these conditions that have been finally agreed to by the Reading and Lehigh companies, whose course is being followed by most of the other mining operators.

**Proposed Terms  
of Settlement**

The conditions upon which the miners have agreed to accept the 10 per cent. increase are, first, that it remain in force until April 1st, 1901; second, that the sliding-scale system of payment in the Lehigh and Schuylkill districts be abolished and the 10 per cent. increase remain stationary above the present basis price per ton for mining; third, that the operators agree to adjust all other griev-

ances with committees of their own employees. In addition, the convention recommended that if these terms were not acceptable the whole case be submitted to arbitration,—a suggestion it must be confessed that loses much of its force in view of the violation by the employees of the Markle mines at Jeddo of a long-standing arbitration agreement with the Markle firm. President Mitchell defended this violation by saying that the success of the whole strike depended upon forcing all the corporations to arbitrate rather than permitting local settlements. But not even this is a sufficient excuse for violating a definite agreement, and it justifies the operators in refusing to arbitrate altogether on the ground that only themselves and not the miners could be relied upon to stand by the outcome.

It will be seen, however, that the miners' convention did concede the point of recognition of their national union (which, by the way, the operators ought to have been willing to grant from the first) and proposed to submit all the complaints aside from the wages dispute to local agreement between the operators and committees of their own employees. The point at issue now is whether the price of powder is to be one of the items left to local settlement, or the reduction made outright by the operators. It is sincerely to be hoped that this dispute will not stand in the way of a speedy ending of the strike.

In the statements and claims made on both sides, especially when discussed from a political standpoint, there has been much misrepresentation; but the terms of settlement will help to clear the air and indicate just about what the real merits of the case were. It has been claimed frequently during the strike, and pay rolls exhibited to prove it, that the recent earnings of miners were averaging more than \$3 a day, and of mine laborers nearly \$2 a day. But on the other hand, when the



regular periods of short runs and suspensions owing to lack of demand, etc., are taken into account, the average annual earnings are of course considerably below what these figures would indicate. The miners are not in destitution, nor have they been working at starvation wages, but their earnings, environment, social conditions and standard of life are far from enviable, and the whole community ought to rejoice in any betterment of their lot, even if it should mean a temporary increase in the price of coal. A permanent increase, as soon as the scarcity alarm is over, need not be expected.

**Freight  
Charges  
on Coal**

An important feature that has come out in the course of this strike is the apparently exorbitant freight charges on anthracite coal. These charges appear to be three or four times the rates on bituminous coal, and are considerably above the average for all kinds of freight. Allowance should of course be made for the high terminal charges which raise the per mile rate on short runs, as from the Pennsylvania fields to New York city, but, conceding that, the rates still appear excessive. It is possible that the strike has already had the effect of forcing an adjustment of this matter on a more equitable basis. At any rate, it is significant that the decision to grant the miners' demands was reached immediately after a conference between the coal companies and the principal coal-carrying railroads. If the increase in wages has been practically offset to the operators in advance, by a concession from the railroads, there should be no increase whatever in the price of coal, and the outcome of the whole situation will be a gain to the miners, with no loss to the consuming public, and an increased pressure on the railroads to restore their surrendered item of profit on coal rates by new economies or improvements in transportation methods.

**The Situation  
in China**

Probably no foreigners whatever, and only a small proportion of the Chinese upper classes, really know whether the empress dowager or the emperor is exercising the supreme official authority in China. Within the past month it has been reported, and both times on apparently good authority, that Prince Tuan, the arch-conspiritor and leader of the Boxer movement, was high in power and issuing edicts in the name of the government, and that this same official had been degraded and ordered before the Imperial clan court for trial. Of the two reports the latter seems more likely in the light of subsequent events.

Count von Waldersee, who was agreed upon as commander-in-chief of the foreign troops in China, arrived at Tien-Tsin on September 27th. Representing as he does the extreme vengeance policy of Germany, his presence, together with an expedition against the city of Pao-Ting, just successfully completed, seems to have roused genuine apprehension on the part of the Chinese government. The emperor, Kwang-Su, has sent a very humble note to Emperor William deploring the murder of Germany's minister, Baron von Ketteler, but neither he nor the empress dowager seem to have sufficient confidence in the effect of their conciliatory advances to risk returning to Peking. They are believed to be now in Shan-Si province, some three thousand miles from the capital.

**Peace Negotiations**

Our government's policy, since the rescue of the legations, has been distinctly non-aggressive. General Chaffee was ordered, late in September, to send back to Manila all troops except a legation guard consisting of one regiment of infantry and four troops of cavalry, with rapid-fire guns. As we had about 5,000 men in China, this meant

the withdrawal of 3,500 troops. Practically all of these are now either back in the Philippines or on the way there. In line with this policy, we declined to accept Germany's proposal that the Boxer ringleaders be executed before peace negotiations with China should begin. Our attitude was that the punishment of these men should form an essential part of the conditions of peace when negotiations are begun. England, Russia and France took the same position, and Germany weakened, —a course made rather easier by the timely publication of a Chinese imperial edict decreeing the punishment of certain Boxer leaders. Most of the powers seem inclined to accept this edict as genuine, though it must be confessed that there is little in Christendom's experience with China to warrant overconfidence in any kind of pledges, except under constant outside pressure for their enforcement. The edict in question was published on September 25th. Besides degrading Prince Tuan and summoning him before the imperial clan court, it orders the degradation and trial of eight other prominent Chinese officials. In view of this step, Germany made a second proposal, that the powers unite to ascertain whether the list of leaders to be punished is sufficient, and how the powers could make sure of the carrying out of the penalties. While this was still under discussion, France entered the field with a set of proposals of her own, submitted as a basis for peace negotiations. These were, briefly, the punishment of Boxer culprits, prohibition of further importation of arms into China, indemnity to governments, societies and individuals for losses suffered in the Boxer outbreaks, a permanent guard for the Peking legations, dismantlement of the forts, and the occupation by foreign troops of two or three strong points between Peking and Tien-Tsin. Our department of state, on October 10th, replied to these proposals with qualified approval;



the principal exceptions being that we would not agree to commit ourselves to the permanent prohibition of China's right to import arms, nor to the dismantling of forts and establishing military posts at least until more complete knowledge of the situation can be had. It is further understood that we will consent to no settlement which does not require the powers to adhere to the "open-door" pledges given to Secretary Hay last year.

**Settlement  
in Sight**

The Chinese peace commission appears to have simmered down to two men, Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching, both of whom have made formal calls on the foreign legations in Peking and urged the beginning of peace negotiations. The delays in getting promptly to work on the terms of peace in China have been chiefly due to the needless continuation of an aggressive military policy. Count von Waldersee naturally has the ambition of a military man to make some kind of a record before the opportunity passes by, but neither his ambition nor the German emperor's anxiety for wholesale vengeance should be allowed to complicate matters further and delay the final settlement of this problem. Much to the credit of the Washington government, we are not going to embark in any fool's errand of pursuing Boxer leaders all over China. Just now the outlook for rational counsels is improving. An important agreement between England and Germany was entered into on October 16th, which binds the two governments to act together; first, to guarantee an "open door" in China for the trade and industry of all nations; second, not to take advantage of the present crisis to appropriate Chinese territory but to stand for "maintaining undiminished the territorial condition of the Chinese empire;" third, to come to a preliminary agreement be-

fore taking action in case another power attempts to seize any part of China for itself.

This is virtually an alliance between England and Germany, so far as eastern affairs are concerned; and is based squarely on the broad lines of policy first laid down by the United States a year ago. It practically brings England, Germany and the United States at last into a position of harmonious cooperation in policy, which is natural, hopeful, and certain to become an increasingly prominent feature of international relations in the future.

**The Transvaal  
Annexed**

But for the skilful elusive tactics of General De Wet, the Boer war would by this time have been a thing wholly of the past. Practically all his associates in arms have been captured or deprived of any power of further resistance, but the plucky Free State commander keeps up his isolated guerilla warfare and occasionally gathers in a few British stragglers or supply wagons. Lord Roberts issued a proclamation on September 1st, annexing the Transvaal to the British empire, which means that the Boers still in arms are now technically in the status of rebels and no longer to be recognized as belligerents. Their last two strongholds—Lydenburg, in the hills north of the Delagoa Bay Railway, once supposed to be an impregnable point, and Koomatipoort, close to the boundary between the Transvaal and Portuguese territory,—were both taken by the British during the first three weeks of September.

Ex-President Kruger early in September fled across the border to the seaport of Lorenzo Marques, remaining there several weeks, on neutral soil, and is now reported to have embarked on a Dutch cruiser to seek a new home in Holland. Great Britain will make no effort to capture him. It is beyond his power further to affect

the problems or destinies of South Africa, and any measures of harshness with the unfortunate old man would arouse more feeling against England and England's policies throughout the world than the South African war itself has caused.

**British Elections and Army Reorganization**      The task of making good the annexation in fact as well as on paper is apparently to be entrusted to General Kitchener. General Buller is returning to England, and Lord Roberts is soon to follow and take up the task of reforming the British military service. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army to succeed Lord Wolseley, on September 30th, and is expected to have the cooperation of a new minister in the cabinet war department, in place of the Marquis of Lansdowne, whose administration of affairs has been highly unsatisfactory to the English people. British military methods are still controlled largely by tradition and red-tape, and in the approaching "shake-up" the progressive influence of Joseph Chamberlain, colonial secretary, is bound to be a strong factor. The South African policy has been recognized as peculiarly Mr. Chamberlain's, and it has just been endorsed in the parliamentary elections by an increase from 128 to 133 in the unionist-conservative majority. This means, as is elsewhere pointed out in this number, that Mr. Chamberlain's influence in British politics is very much in the ascendant. He is practically sure to be the controlling influence in the reorganization of at least such departments as affect the foreign policy of the empire.

**Now England Must Justify Itself**      Now that the struggle in South Africa is practically over, it is for England to show to the world its recognition that success brings responsibility and duty. We believe



that history will justify the general policy of Great Britain in South Africa up to this point, but, having exacted the supreme penalty by annexing the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, England must be prepared to justify this step also by an early and rapid improvement in the industrial and political conditions of the people in all the conquered territory. Nothing but a substantial expansion of industrial prosperity, political and religious freedom, and establishment of liberal, progressive institutions, will free England from the inevitable odium of having wiped two republics out of existence,—unprogressive and largely corrupt oligarchies though they were. In the nature of things, sooner or later this war was sure to come, and in the nature of things also England was bound to win, but annexation was not the only possible outcome. England might conceivably have insisted on indemnity and wholesale internal reforms in the Transvaal, while permitting the Boer republics to remain independent. Probably the annexation would have come some day, but, having assumed the responsibility of it now, it is for England to justify this policy by an extension of industrial civilization and political freedom among the Boers, such as they could never have developed or enjoyed under their own stagnant and illiberal institutions.

## MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S TRIUMPH

The triumph of Joseph Chamberlain in the parliamentary election in England is one of the most significant political events that has occurred in Europe for a long time. It is the more significant because of the peculiar character of the election which is about to occur also in this country. The crisis in China may at the moment seem the all-absorbing world topic, but it is a matter of only temporary duration. The tendency of the world's civilization, the trend of political development, are indicated, not by what occurs in China, or whether Russia is true or tricky, but by the national policy adopted by the peoples as well as the governments of England and the United States.

While there is a radical difference in the issues to be passed upon in the impending election in this country and the parliamentary election in England, there is behind the national spirit and policy in both countries a striking similarity of motive, thought, and inherent political tendency. The important issues submitted to the people in the two countries are unlike. In this country we are about to deal with the stability and integrity of our monetary system. Below and behind the topics blazoned to the front in our present political discussions is the problem of our national finances. We have gone through a mottled experience with our monetary system, largely due to the tremendous rate of industrial progress. We have in many directions ex-

panded rather faster than we were able to keep pace in soundness of monetary methods and ideas. Our success was so great that small losses did not seriously affect us, and more unstable and temporary fiscal methods would suffice. We were very much in the position of the man whose income reaches him faster than his capacity to expend it, and consequently we could become reckless without experiencing embarrassment. Under these circumstances, loose ideas of money and finance are naturally indulged in, but, when industrial conditions settle down to the normal, more scientific financiering is necessary if bankruptcy is to be avoided. As a nation we have just passed through that stage of experience, but the chaotic notions of finance are still clamoring for continuance. The most significant issue in this presidential election is whether we shall enter permanently and indisputably upon the policy of sound, civilized finance, or continue the menace of a doubtful monetary standard and chaotic currency, with its threatening fiscal quicksand under the foundation of our industrial structure.

Four years ago this question was passed upon with encouraging decisiveness, but another appeal is now to be made to the American people, either to confirm its previous decision or reopen the case for monetary perturbation and chaos. The attacks on corporations and our policy in the Philippines are really secondary to this. If we confirm the decision of 1896 and establish sound monetary principles for all the future, as such a vote would, we shall then be firmly in the lead in the progress of institutions throughout the world. The principles of democratic government and all that that implies will have been safely kept to the front and sustained by the American people, and, with a sound scientific basis to our financial system, the integrity of our economic and political progress will be secured.



In the parliamentary election in England other and different issues were involved. The soundness and stability of financial institutions in England are established beyond question. With her industrial policy the case is somewhat different. The triumph which Mr. Chamberlain, as the leader, practically, of the administration party, has won in the parliamentary elections, with about 130 majority in the house of commons, is chiefly significant as pointing to the evolution of England's industrial policy in line with that of the United States, in almost the same degree that the election of McKinley in this country will be chiefly significant as indicating the evolution of financial policy in this country in line with that of England.

In scientific finance, sound banking and monetary stability, England has led the world, and in constructive economic and industrial policy the United States has led the world. It is true of all human experience, both personal and public, that we blunder first and systematize and scientize afterwards. On the great broad questions of constructive industrial policy this country, with a few intermittent interruptions, has been sound; it has adhered, crudely sometimes, bunglingly and even blindly, to the idea and policy of protection. Our clumsy experimentation has often been the cause of ridicule, but this has served only as a correcting criticism which has promoted the making of the protective system more scientific rather than destroyed faith in the system itself. Indeed, it seems to have been the function of the United States in the world of political evolution to experiment and ultimately develop the policy of protection as a principle in political philosophy, and it seems to have been given to England to establish the principle of essentially sound banking and currency. While we are struggling with the remnants of financial vagaries and the estab-

lishment of sound national monetary principles, England is struggling with the remnants of a negative industrial policy and moving toward the establishment of a constructive, protective industrial policy.

The real significance of Mr. Chamberlain's seemingly sudden prominence in English statesmanship is that he typifies what there is of the new constructive policy in the tendency of English politics. He really represents the rehabilitation of the positive quality in English statesmanship. The two men who stand out as the representatives of two opposing schools of political doctrine in England are Joseph Chamberlain and John Morley. Mr. Morley is the cultured, classical representative of the extreme *laissez faire* doctrinaire of the Cobden-Bright type. The men of the Manchester school who came into political ascendancy in the middle of the century were free traders, but they were practical politicians. Cobden and Bright were eminently practical men; they saw in their free trade at least an immediate and temporary expansion of the manufacturing industries of England. They were not philosophers enough to see its ultimate effect upon the national influence and opportunities, but they were very clear in the shorter-range view of immediate advantage. In this their predictions were confirmed, which gave national prestige to their names and policy.

Under the successful regime of this policy the followers of these mid-century statesmen have developed into a school of abstract political doctrinaires, who lack the practical hard-headedness of the original leaders. Instead of deducing their doctrines from the nation's experience, they insisted upon reducing the nation's experience to their doctrines. Even Herbert Spencer was a victim of this short-range abstraction. To him everything was false which seemed inconsistent with the principle of free trade. John Morley is the typical

representative of this school. It has been so tenacious in its adherence to abstract idea of "liberty" that it has refused to take on, and in fact has opposed, almost every effort at constructive policies. A constructive policy always means doing something, and doing involves the restriction or disturbance of some existing conditions. This do-nothing doctrinaire school completely dominated the liberal party, and was not entirely without good effects. This doctrine has within it a strong element of democracy. Like the anarchist, it at least voices the idea of freedom. It is opposed to restraint, but it entirely lacks the constructive philosophical element which recognizes that restraint and protection are often, and indeed generally, indispensable conditions of freedom.

Under the influence of this freedom or non-restraint idea the liberal party was the advocate of the right of free speech, a free press, an extension of the suffrage to the masses, admission of Jews and Catholics to political rights,—in short, almost everything which removed political, social and religious restraint and gave greater latitude of individual action. During the period of the great political struggles from 1828 to 1874 the liberal party was the progressive party, because during that time the breaking down of barriers to religious and political freedom was the immediate demand of progress.

But on the economic side, where the laborers came in contact with the growing power of capital in its industrial development under the factory system, this *laissez faire* policy, with unlimited freedom of the strong, was wholly impotent to aid progress. Now freedom demands not *laissez faire* but protection. In the earlier political and religious questions, tradition had forbidden the masses to have any right of action. Freedom then required the striking down of the barriers



of tradition, but under the new conditions the freedom of the great laboring class demanded the protecting hand of the state against this unregulated power of the newly-developed employing class. Laborers were utterly unable to assert their right to opportunities for education, domestic and social decency, and other conditions which made moral and social improvement possible. This needed the constructive affirmative action on the part of the state, which should say to the employing class, Thus far shalt thou go and no farther; you shall not work these women and children eleven, twelve and fourteen hours a day; you shall not cram them into unwholesome quarters which multiply diseases and create a mass of degenerates. Progress and freedom demanded a policy of, Thou shalt not, limiting the power of the employing class in order to protect the conditions of the laboring class.

To this affirmative policy the liberal party, under its half-true doctrine of freedom, became the persistent opponent. Every element of constructive legislation embraced in the whole system of the factory acts and kindred legislation encountered the persistent opposition of the liberal party, not because it was heartless or unsympathetic towards labor but because it was mistakenly, if not blindly, following what it regarded as a fundamental principle of freedom.

This constant opposition to the obviously necessary protective policy towards labor, and social opportunities generally, naturally alienated the laborers from the liberal party. Workingmen who saw the practical need of these measures found the doctrinaires of the liberal party against them, and, not being retrogressive, with no taste for toryism, which meant in reality only medieval exclusiveness, they tended to stand aloof. In the absence of anything better they began to turn

towards socialism, which is the very reverse of *laissez faire* liberalism.

In this transition of political feeling and thought Mr. Chamberlain made his appearance on the political horizon. He was a liberal, of what is known in England as the radical type, which means practically a republican. He came into political prominence as the mayor of Birmingham. He was farther removed from the aristocratic party than the Cobdens, Brights and Morleys, but he was very close to the people. As mayor of Birmingham he took the line of practical action; inaugurated a number of positive improvements affecting the homes and surroundings of the masses. He was constructive to the extent of being almost paternal, but he did something. On national matters he still believed in free trade, in *laissez faire* as a doctrine, but in his own domain where he was an active political factor he was really a protectionist. He expended public money for the improvement, housing and opportunities of the masses. This was not done as the result of a doctrine but in response to the horse-sense of a practical man. It sent him to parliament, and there he carried with him the same constructive spirit. His speeches were of the radical type, regarding the conditions of labor, always for doing something. He shocked his friends in the liberal party, and disgusted the aristocratic leaders in the tory party, but he found an echo always in the masses. In theory he was all the time a free trader, and so long as he did not suggest any change in the national free-trade policy it was not regarded as fatally heretical.

A little later, and as if in the natural evolution of events, this growing indifference to the liberal party among the masses or radicals culminated in what in America would be called a convention, known as the "Newcastle Conference," in which Mr. Chamberlain

was the dominating spirit. A "program" or platform was adopted, of a radical type. Many of the propositions were of a highly socialistic character, but they were all affirmative propositions for doing something.

One of the reforms advocated by this "unauthorized program" was the government purchase of land to establish peasant proprietorship, furnishing each peasant with three acres and a cow. Nothing could have been farther from the doctrines of the liberals. This looked like medieval paternalism, but, nothing abashed, Mr. Chamberlain continued on these lines with a constantly increasing popularity out of parliament, which always carries strength in parliament. Later, a parliamentary commission was appointed to investigate and report on the conditions of labor. Here again Mr. Chamberlain's influence was strongly felt. He then shocked his *laissez faire* comrades by advocating a system of old-age pensions, to introduce into the industrial system of England the labor-insurance principle. In this Mr. Chamberlain was the real pioneer of what is to be, probably, the next great step in industrial legislation. In the United States the republican party has declared itself in favor of this principle in its Philadelphia platform. Since Mr. Chamberlain came out for old-age pensions several countries in Europe have taken steps to legislate in this direction.

Thus Mr. Chamberlain, in his actions far more than in his theories, was becoming a constructive statesman. Still adhering in theory to the principle of free trade, he has gradually, by the sheer dint of active usefulness, adopted the policy of protection. All this strengthened Mr. Chamberlain in public estimation; and in politics, regardless of country, the man who is strong with the people is sure to be respected by his comrades and deferred to even if disliked.

Finally, when the Irish home-rule question came



and Mr. Gladstone proposed yielding to what many minds in England believed to be separation rather than home rule, Mr. Chamberlain broke from the liberal ranks. He declared against dividing the empire. This was not at all inconsistent with his growing tendency towards practical constructive protection. Extreme *laissez faire* may logically lead to national disintegration, because it is fundamentally opposed to restraint. In its extreme application it is essentially anarchy. It was this idea, known as "state sovereignty," that was behind secession in the civil war in this country. The protective principle naturally and logically leads to a policy of national constructiveness, whereas *laissez faire* heads towards local sovereignty and national disintegration. In this country Hamilton represented the former and Jefferson the latter. It was, therefore, not illogical for Mr. Chamberlain to be opposed to any form of home rule for Ireland which looked like separation, although to his immediate comrades and to the Irish it looked like a sudden change. In reality it was but the natural expression of his growing tendency towards constructive national policies.

His break from the liberal party, which was led by Gladstone and Morley in the home-rule matter, resulted in the formation of the unionist party, which included John Bright and Lord Hartington (now the Duke of Devonshire), two of the most conspicuous leaders of the old liberal party. The unionists allied themselves with the tory party for the specific purpose of defeating this Irish home-rule measure. Of course, at the time Mr. Chamberlain was called an ingrate, a traitor to the liberal cause, a convert to toryism for ambitious purposes. It was predicted that he had become a tory for the sake of position and would sink from public view, but these prophecies have not been verified. Mr. Chamberlain was really too progressive for the liberal

party, which had outlived the useful part of its own program. As events have since shown, it was not so much a case of Chamberlain going to the tories as of the tories going to Chamberlain. His very strength in the unionist movement, which had grown up by his increasing popularity with the people, enabled him practically to dictate terms to the tories, who hailed him for the moment as their saviour against Gladstone's home-rule policy. He soon became as conspicuous in the tory party as he had been in the liberal, and was given a place in the cabinet as secretary for the colonies. In the hands of most people, the position of secretary for the colonies is not much more than a sinecure, but in the hands of Mr. Chamberlain it became the conspicuous place in the cabinet. Instead of becoming a tory he took his progressive characteristics into a conservative cabinet.

The great question of English commercial supremacy has been one of growing concern among English statesmen. For some years the free-trade policy has not been doing for English foreign trade what its advocates in the middle of the century predicted. England's trade expansion at first was rapid, but with the development of factory methods in other countries new competitors are steadily arising, and England's supremacy in foreign markets is steadily being challenged. The free traders have been loath to admit these growing signs of England's declining supremacy, but facts are compelling the admission, by Englishmen themselves. In a speech delivered before the British Empire League in June, 1897, at Liverpool, the Duke of Devonshire said:

" Its [free trade] speedy universal adoption all over the world was prophesied, and that prophecy has been falsified, and the thick-and-thin admirers and believers in the Manchester school seek to persuade us that, although that prophecy has not been fulfilled, it was the best thing for us that we should be the only free-trading country in the world.

Very few disciples of free trade of fifty years ago would have believed for a moment that at this time France and Germany would be carrying on an enormous trade under strictly protective conditions, and not only that they would not open their markets to us, but that they would be competing over us for the possession of as large a portion as possible of the surface of the earth, not for the purpose of opening it to the universal benefits of free trade, but for the purpose of excluding from those portions English trade."

Mr. Chamberlain saw the obvious, and had the courage frankly to face the situation and admit that free trade, if it had not been a failure, at least had become inadequate to the needs of English conditions. He rose to the plane of recognizing the necessity of readopting a protective policy, and proposed a system of industrial federation between England and her colonies, with free trade within and protection from without, which was really the first voice from any responsible source in England in favor of protection for forty years. In a speech delivered at the Canada Club, early in 1896, Mr. Chamberlain had this to say of his new "zollverein" plan and its bearing on free-trade theory:

"I have no such pedantic admiration for it (free trade) that if sufficient advantage were offered me I would not consider a deviation from the strict doctrine. [Hear, hear.] Mr. Cobden himself took this view, and compromised his principles in making the French treaty; and it cannot be expected that we, his disciples, should be more orthodox than the apostle of free trade himself. [Hear, hear! and laughter.] My fourth proposition is that a true zollverein for the empire, that a free trade established throughout the empire, although it would involve the imposition of duties against foreign countries, and would be in that respect a derogation from the high principles of free trade, and from the practice of the United Kingdom up to the present time, would still be a proper subject for discussion and might probably lead to a satisfactory arrangement, if the colonies on their part were willing to consider it. [Hear, hear! and cheers.]"

The *London Times* of March 27, 1896, commenting on this proposal, said:

"The United Kingdom has for nearly half a century pursued, steadily and avowedly, a free-trade policy, while the colonies, on the whole, though with some remarkable exceptions and with no approach to uniformity of action, have drifted into protectionism. This divergence



has hitherto frustrated the various projects that have been discussed for an imperial customs union, which would, at once, establish free trade within the empire as it exists within the vast territories of the United States, and would bind together the members of such a federation by ties of interest as well as those of sentiment. . . . Yet we believe the vast majority of people of the United Kingdom will heartily endorse Mr. Chamberlain's desire."

This departure from English free-trade policy, in the direction of a national protective system, was quickly followed by the disturbed conditions in South Africa; and, as if the fates were at the helm, Mr. Chamberlain, nearly the only person of sufficient determination, public confidence and constructive ideas, was at the helm as secretary for the colonies. It became his duty to deal with Mr. Kruger. This was another question of integration or disintegration. The Morleyites were for disintegration and Chamberlain for integration. The Transvaal government was in a position where it had either to become a segregated oligarchy or broaden out into a liberal democracy. It refused to broaden; it refused to take on even the liberal spirit which for a quarter of a century had characterized England. Mr. Chamberlain took the firm and determined position that industrial freedom and fairness and some degree of political equality should be meted out to Europeans who had followed the impulse of industrial development into Africa. He said, in other words, that at least protection of the democratic principles represented by English civilization should follow English people into this new world. Against this obvious movement of democratic civilization into South Africa the Boers declared war. Mr. Chamberlain was abused and traduced, but he asked the English people to wait until it was over before they should sit in judgment. The English people took him at his word and supported his policy.

In this election Mr. Chamberlain has been the

conspicuous figure. It was the endorsement or censure of his policy that was really submitted to the people. On the other side the most distinguished personality was Mr. John Morley, the highest representative of the *laissez faire* school, from which Mr. Chamberlain has evolved. The verdict is overwhelmingly for the Chamberlain policy. Mr. Morley predicted that all the ills on the calendar would follow, but the people heeded him not. This verdict does not mean that the English people have become less liberal and more tory, but it means that the tory party has taken on more of the constructively liberal spirit and that the liberal party has become static in its doctrinaire abstractions,—in fact, too negative to be useful. It means that the feeling, thinking and acting of the English people are rapidly tending away from the mere abstract policy of let-alone, towards recognition of a constructive protective principle,—not merely a protective tariff, that indeed may be the last thing to come,—but protective in the broad sense of recognizing the political philosophy of using the instrumentality of government to protect and encourage the interests and opportunities of the people in lines that make for industrial development, national strength and power. In fact, the triumph of Mr. Chamberlain is chiefly significant, not in giving him new power, but in clearly showing the real tendency of political development in England, away from the barren policy of *laissez faire* towards an integrating, affirmative, protective policy, which industrially will bring England into line with the United States.

## DOES THE PRESS REFLECT PUBLIC OPINION?

DANIEL T. PIERCE, EDITOR OF "PUBLIC OPINION"

"How shall I speak thee, or thy power address,  
"Thou god of our idolatry, the Press?  
"By thee, religion, liberty, and laws  
"Exert their influence, and advance their cause.  
"By thee, worse plagues than Pharaoh's land befell,  
"Diffused, make earth the vestibule of Hell;  
"Thou fountain at which drink the good and wise;  
"Thou ever-bubbling spring of endless lies;  
"Like Eden's dread probationary tree,  
"Knowledge of good and evil is from thee."

—WILLIAM COWPER.

Does the press purvey or reflect public opinion? A correct answer to that question would be immensely valuable—valuable at any time, but especially important just now when we have an administration at Washington that claims to be guided largely by the public opinion of the nation.

Several instances have occurred where opinion as voiced by the press has turned out not to be "public" in the sense the term is generally used, namely, to mean a wide consensus of judgment. It has happened in elections in at least three of our largest cities that the candidate who was opposed by a majority of the newspapers was successful over his much-championed opponent.

And it has been argued from the results of the elections referred to, and from other circumstances, that the press is not a good index to public opinion; that we must look elsewhere for the beat of the public pulse; that perhaps we shall find this pulse in elections or in some other channel of expression. In short, the influence of the press, in common belief, is on the wane.



This may be true—it is true, I believe—but to admit this is not to admit that the press is not a faithful reflector of public opinion. The press may be less influential than it was formerly, it may have lost some of its power to draw men to this or that way of thinking, but I believe that to-day our newspapers are more perfectly than ever before the true index to public opinion. Only one must know how to use this index.

The influences bearing upon a particular class of newspapers published in our largest cities may render a comparatively insignificant number of journals only the mouthpieces of the owners. But, as will be presently pointed out, it is not through the metropolitan press that the pulse of the country as a whole can most clearly be felt.

It would not be well, however, to discard the theory that elections are the best index to public opinion without giving some reasons for laying this contention aside. Though we may safely lay claim to the distinction of being the only country in the world that has always had a potential public opinion, there has never been a time, I believe, except perhaps during the war of the rebellion, when a perfect reflex of the public mind could be found in our elections. In the earlier days of the republic the elections turned upon men and sentiments. To-day a republican vote does not mean that the man who casts it is a believer in all or most of the present tenets of the republican party. Our votes, as a rule, are influenced by habit, personal interests and "general principles." No one will maintain that the millions who voted for Mr. McKinley in 1896 did so because they believed in a duty on wool, the restriction of immigration, a free-homestead policy, and discriminating duties on shipping. Nor will anyone argue that even a small proportion of the millions who voted for Mr. Bryan accepted literally a majority of the

planks of the Chicago platform. And it would be absurd to suppose that the thousands who voted the Tammany ticket in the last municipal election in New York thereby recorded their adherence to the expressed or well-understood purposes of the democratic organization in New York city. No, despite the frequency of our elections they seem to have few of the elements of a referendum.\* Again, there is no flexibility or continuity in the election index. Newspapers are published every day in the year; they respond instantly to changes of sentiment; they have no choice in the matter.

A wealthy man or a company of men may support a newspaper which, in its editorial policy, is at variance with the majority opinion in its locality. This frequently happens, but the facts are generally understood and no one is led to believe that such a paper voices public opinion. There is, for instance, a journal in Chicago that stands alone in its advocacy of a street railway monopoly. There is another journal in California that champions a railway system, the management of which is looked upon by the majority of the people as a curse. When Mr. Wanamaker was postmaster-general and the target of much criticism by the press of the country, the Philadelphia newspapers stood mute. Mr. Wanamaker is a large advertiser.

These are examples of the most direct form of control of editorial expression by the "financial backer's" private interests. There are innumerable examples of less direct, though very effective, influence. But this does not prove that newspapers taken the country over represent only private interest and opinion. The opposite of this is the real condition.

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\* "Every one who will look facts honestly in the face can convince himself that the public opinion of a nation is something quite different from the votes that can be extracted from all the individuals who compose it."—Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

It cannot be doubted that fully ninety per cent. of the newspapers voice the views of their readers from sheer necessity. The growing importance to newspaper publishers of the revenue derived from advertising, has, it is true, tended to emancipate the press and periodicals generally from dependence upon subscribers. Advertising, however, cannot be secured without circulation, and we have therefore arrived at the point from which we started, namely, that a large majority of the newspapers cannot afford not to represent the opinions of their readers. It may then be necessary to know and consider certain facts in judging particular editorial expressions.

After years of daily acquaintance with the press of the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf to the Lakes, I am convinced that the newspapers of the rural communities—the despised “country newspaper”—are the truest reflectors of public opinion. Next to them come the papers published in cities of from ten to fifty thousand inhabitants. The country newspaper not only reflects public opinion—it anticipates it. Its editor is in close relations with his readers; he knows many of them personally and his interests are identical with theirs. The editor of the great metropolitan daily, on the other hand, looks down upon his stranger constituency from an elevation of reserve and self-esteem. This attitude of superiority may be warranted, but it does not recommend our “great newspapers” as echoes of the public voice. I do not consider here the duty of the press to mold and educate public opinion, because to do so would be quite outside my present purpose.

Another striking difference between rural and city newspapers is found in their standards of morality. (There is the same difference in papers in cities of twenty-five thousand and those in cities of hundreds of



thousands of inhabitants). Mr. E. L. Godkin, in an article published in the *Atlantic Monthly* on the growth of public opinion, declares that one of the most curious things about the relations of the press and public is that the people do not expect from a newspaper proprietor the same sort of morality that they expect from persons in other callings. This is not true of the people of smaller cities. There the editor is held to a code of morals quite as strict as that established for other public servants. Pursuing his argument further, Mr. Godkin, who is writing of city newspapers (and who is quite innocent of the purpose to which his words are here put) discloses a further weakness in the position of the "great editor" as a reflector of public opinion. He says:

"It is quite possible to find a newspaper which nearly everybody condemns, and whose influence most men would repudiate, circulating freely even among religious and moral people, and making handsome profits. A newspaper proprietor, therefore, who finds that his profits remain high, no matter what views he promulgates and what kind of morality he practices, can hardly with fairness to the community be treated as an exponent of its opinions. He will not consider what it thinks when he finds he has only to consider what it will buy, and that it will buy his paper without agreeing with it."

No better illustration of the way in which the rural press judges or anticipates public opinion could be given than to refer to the country newspapers for a few years prior to the democratic national convention of 1896. The action of that convention was a complete surprise. Few anticipated by more than a few weeks the real nature of the platform then adopted. But the country newspapers in the West, the middle-West, and in the South had been preaching for months the doctrines enunciated at Chicago. I will not say that the exact expressions of that convention had been outlined and advocated, but there had been a very general expression of dissatisfaction and unrest; a feeling

that national legislation was in the hands of unpatriotic men and that the country was being run for the banker and capitalist rather than for the farmer and man of small affairs.

Turning to the press of cities of more than thirty thousand inhabitants, we find that it had not only anticipated its party's action, but it was so unprepared for it that it was several days before the larger daily newspapers got their bearings on the questions presented to them. This will serve in a measure to explain why I attribute a keen susceptibility to the rural press.

Again, as to our policy towards responsibilities growing out of the war with Spain, On May 25, 1898, less than a month after the destruction of the last prop of Spain's sovereignty in the East, Prof. David Starr Jordan warned a California audience, before whom he was lecturing, of the dangers, as he believed, that lay beyond the conquest that we were then preparing to consummate in the Philippines. I venture the statement that not ten "great" city journals had at that time for a moment considered the annexation of the Philippines or any of the questions now grouped under the head of "imperialism." (I do not refer to such discussion as that occasioned by the annexation of Hawaii.) But the country newspapers of the West quickly took up the discussion, and a majority of them were ardent expansionists. The idea of a Greater America pleased them mightily.

Then they began thriftily to count the cost. The men composing the western volunteer regiments began to die of sickness and wounds. Briefly the newspapers came to see that there was no way of "getting our money back"—and the tide turned. This precisely foreshadowed the trend of the public opinion of the whole country as to our policy in the far East. First

there was great enthusiasm on the side of the expansionists; then sober second-thought, followed by large accessions to the ranks of the anti-imperialists, and then a more or less permanent division into opposing ranks, of which it cannot be denied the expansionists appear to be the larger.

There is another aspect of the question. It seldom occurs to us that, however large a city newspaper's circulation may be, it is still only a tithe of the combined circulations of the country newspapers in the state. The state of Illinois, for instance, has a population of about 4,000,000. Chicago, the only city in the state having more than fifty thousand inhabitants, is the source of our information as to the state of the public mind of the whole commonwealth. But Chicago has a population of less than half the whole state, while outside this city there are 950 newspapers, published in 450 towns, and these newspapers, as I have attempted to show, are much more likely to reflect public opinion than are those of the city of Chicago.

The state of Indiana is a much better example of the preponderance of the country over the city. Indianapolis has a population of about 110,000, the state has a population of 2,200,000, and Terre Haute, the city next in size to Indianapolis, has but 35,000 inhabitants. The 675 papers scattered over the state represent the remainder of the population—more than two millions.

In Ohio there are five cities which have more than fifty thousand inhabitants; the aggregate of their population is about 800,000. If we hear the views expressed in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton and Toledo, we are satisfied that we have the public opinion of the state, whereas as a matter of fact the 720 papers published outside of these cities represent four times as many readers as the city papers have.



In Missouri the three cities having more than fifty thousand inhabitants contain about twenty per cent. of the population of the state—2,800,000. In 344 towns of the state there are about 760 papers which voice the views of nearly two millions in the state, against the ten or twelve journals in St. Joseph, Kansas City and St. Louis, which probably do *not* reflect the views of some 800,000 people who live in these three cities.

Remembering that newspapers have been here considered only as reflectors, I do not think there can be much dissent from the conclusions drawn. The great journals of our large cities perform a multitude of services—services which more than compensate for the evils of practices lately introduced into the profession of journalism. I only contend that the “larger” the paper the less is it an index to public thought. I do not presume to think that I have indicated an infallible or an entirely practicable method of locating public opinion, but I may fairly claim that my conclusions are the results of unusual opportunities of observation.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of a safe method of determining the majority opinion of the country. Public officials and congress are, we know, not infrequently misled by clamor in particular quarters which they mistake for the voice of the whole people. If the true method of identifying public opinion could be found, many expensive political mistakes might be avoided. There is an opportunity here for a great deal of investigation and discussion to the end that the ear may be educated to distinguish the deep voice of the multitude from the clamor of small groups of men.

## ORIENTAL CHEAP LABOR IN THE SOUTH

MAY WILKINSON MOUNT

While the question of what the commercial and political relations will be between the United States and its colonies is agitating the public mind, not a small degree of importance is attached to the vital proposition concerning the effect upon American labor of the annexation of tropical countries.

Unfavorable conditions in their own countries will cause many Filipino and Cuban and Porto Rican laborers to seek the southern states of this republic where the agricultural products are similar to their own, and the climate one which would be least objectionable to them. There they would find innumerable Filipinos and many Cubans among a mixed floating population of Irish, Italian, Chinese, Austrian, negro and mongrel laborers. Of all these representatives of nationalities—and a very small sprinkling of Germans, English and Scandinavians are to be found with them—the only stationary laborers are the negroes. As a rule they gather about the farm or plantation upon which they are employed, either as occupants of the owner's "quarters," or established in cabins rented from him or some adjacent landowner. More often than not the negro is his own landlord.

A glimpse into the habitations and conditions of the laborers of to-day and of the past will show how changes have been brought about by the introduction of foreign labor and indicate how radical these changes would be were the influx of foreign labor much greater than at present.

Filipinos, commonly known as Manilamen and Ma-

lays, have gradually grown, numerically, in the South and are employed to harvest rice and cane, to work at levee-building and upon roads. They make excellent rice-field hands and cane cutters, for in such capacities they are in their native element. So far from being lazy or trifling, as their class is described in Luzon, they are industrious and plodding, inclined to keep to themselves, and apt to be suspicious of whites and negroes with whom they are thrown in contact. It is commonly said to be unsafe to trifle with these men, and an estimate of the feeling in respect to them may be gathered from an incident related by a planter: "I was walking over some cane which was being piled by field hands," he said, "when my foot slipped and I fell over the pile down upon a Chinaman. The man was very badly frightened at my sudden and violent appearance. I was thankful that my fall had not been on top of a Filipino—some of whom were working there, and who sprang up and glared at me—for he would have plunged a cane knife into my back in a moment, imagining I had assaulted him."

Quick to take and resent an affront is the Filipino laborer, and, whether this is true of all of them or not, at least the reputation clings to them and insures them an absence of aggravation,

"Peaceable and industrious when let alone" is the pronouncement regarding Filipino laborers in the southern states. These men usually appear and work in gangs of from twenty to fifty or more, and when harvesting is over disappear, no one knows whither.

Chinese, on the contrary, straggle to plantations singly or a few at a time, and seem to prefer indoor to outdoor labor, such as working in cook-shops, plantation laundries and bakeries, in sugar houses, under cane sheds and as water carriers. The cane knife (practically a machete), of exceeding keenness, is sel-



dom wielded by him, but he is much more prominent in rice fields and among gangs of levee builders.

Like the Filipinos, the Chinese herd together; do not demand as high wages as the negroes or whites and expect much less than any laborers accustomed to American modes of life and cost of living.

Indeed, the orientals do not fill positions which command the best prices. These are held by whites and negroes, not because of any prejudice against foreign labor, but because the others are more skilled. As cane cutters and loaders this is not the case, and while this class of labor formerly received from \$2 to \$2.50 a day, uniformly, it now receives from \$1 to \$2, with an average price of \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day. A large class of less skilled workmen who perform tasks about the fields and sugar mills are paid 75 cents a day as a general average, though this price fluctuates according to the class of work performed. The labor here spoken of is confined entirely to the class which has been and is affected by the introduction of labor from the West Indies and the Orient, and it may be concluded that the employment of coolie, Philippine, Italian and convict labor has had much to do with the reduction of wages all through the South. The laborers whose wages have been quoted are housed in barracks, properly lighted and ventilated, and are provided with three meals each day of wholesome food. For board and lodging the price charged them ranges from thirty to fifty cents a day, with a general average of forty cents per diem. Not infrequently white laborers have traveled to plantations at the planter's expense, eaten supper and lodged comfortably, and then disappeared after breakfast the following morning. They would tramp to the nearest city, living upon the charity of farmers along the way, and then take a steamboat trip to some

other plantation. This practice had to be stopped with a shotgun.

On every plantation stand rows of houses like small camps, built of wood or brick. These are remnants of the spacious "quarters" of the slave-holding period, and most of them are occupied the year round by negroes, many of whom come and go at will. No rent is paid and, as a rule, wood is to be had for the chopping and coal for the hauling. Planters found it cheaper to allot each household a certain amount of coal, as before that system was inaugurated the plantation coal piles were depleted with a rapidity not to be accounted for by the amount consumed at the mills. Even though wood lay at hand, ready to chop, and open fireplaces were the rule in negro cabins, the negro is born with a sense of the expediency of economizing labor and is troubled by no ultra moral scruples as to how this economy should be practiced.

The establishment of negro quarters with separate houses, usually accompanied by a plot of ground in which vegetables and fruit were cultivated, fostered in the negro a love of home, the obligations and responsibilities of a householder, and the maintenance of the home; while the congregation of these domiciles in small villages inculcated a spirit of citizenship and habits of social and religious intercourse.

As conditions have changed in the southern states negroes have gradually acquired holdings of their own, or gathered into communities with schools, shops and denominational churches. The shops are mostly kept by Jews, who encourage gambling and drinking among the negroes and who have had a decidedly demoralizing effect in the villages where these practices obtained a foothold. The negro is a born gambler. It may be that being born the child of chance, as it were, to be sold or driven hither or thither at the will of another,

any game of chance possesses a fascination for him. Then, too, the negro likes whiskey, a taste for which he acquired together with his independence and his political proclivities.

Given the demoralizing results of free admixture with foreign elements of the most mixed character, easy access to liquor and gambling facilities, and the degeneration of morals in negro settlements throughout the southern states is accounted for; and it is readily seen that only the domestic instinct of the negro proves his salvation.

It must be understood that the class of negroes here mentioned are not mechanics nor tradesmen nor even teamsters, but what are commonly termed field hands. The men who handle the hoe, the shovel, the pick and the spade; who do the menial work about lumber mills, or contract labor in cities and towns, are the only men greatly affected by the introduction of foreign labor.

In the vast areas devoted to sugar-beet culture, field labor, which is principally of the American farming class, receives \$2.50 per day for skilled and \$1.75 per day for common workers.

The regions of the sugar beet are not much sought by alien labor and prices are better in consequence.

In Texas, labor conditions along the Gulf are not favorable to the progress or development of the people. Mexicans are very poor workers, unreliable and unsatisfactory. A Mexican can only be made to work when the necessity is upon him of furnishing sustenance whereby he may live. Then he only cares to make enough to keep starvation at bay for awhile; to supply *chili-concare* or the luxury of *tomalies* for the immediate present. In San Antonio he has been known to beg fodder for his mule, or burro, with an abiding faith that a square meal would be added for its master.

The Mexican element is far from beneficial to labor



conditions in this part of the South, just as the Chinese element was detrimental (only more so) in California. Add to the unstable labor conditions and consequent unprogressive educational status of this region, a system of convict labor in the sugar lands of the Brazos river, where men work at the muzzle of a gun and just beyond leash of a bloodhound, and it may be seen that a further admixture of unfruitful laboring classes would throw this country still further back in the improvement of existing conditions among the masses.

In lands devoted to rice culture, unskilled white laborers receive from \$1 to \$1.25 per day, and negroes 75 cents to \$1, or from sixty to seventy-five cents for the latter where board is provided. The average a few years ago, when the work of rice culture was performed by whites and blacks only, was \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day, and even higher.

Negro labor has depreciated the value of white. Numerous bloody conflicts have occurred with growing frequency in the last few years attesting this fact, and negroes are endeavoring to remedy the evil by establishing industrial schools and farms where their race may become skilled in various avocations so as to command better wages. The depreciation in the value of negro labor has been partly caused by the ability of white employers to make them accept lower wages than white men could live upon. Negroes are not unwilling to live in a herded, unsanitary manner that intelligent white American laborers will not submit to.

Just as negro farm labor has caused prices to drop for white farm labor, so Italian, Malay and Chinese infusions have depreciated the wages of the negro and hindered his moral and mental development. As his income contracts the negro finds himself in the condition of his white brother, with less money to live upon, less for school books, school teachers or ministers of

the gospel. Credit for and with these does not go nearly so far as it does with the "barrel house" (low negro saloon) or the Jew supply store. Hence the numerical increase of the latter and shrinkage of the former.

Alien labor scarcely enters into any competition with workers on small cotton and truck farms, where the work is performed on the share system.

A consideration of the prices paid for work and the mode of living of field hands in the Philippines, Porto Rico and Cuba, will indicate what natives of these islands would expect in this country.

In the Philippines field workers receive rations and a few supplies; sometimes amounts varying from ten cents to thirty cents a day, according to the locality in which the work is performed. They do not care to work steadily, and live in huts constructed of bamboo, palm leaves and fibre. Numbers of them crowd into one hut. Their clothing is scant, and in many localities a breech-clout is considered sufficient for their needs. Their food lacks variety, but is better than that of the Porto Rican laborer, whose plight is a most sad one when viewed as that of a civilized and enlightened people.

"Over half of the people of Porto Rico," says U. S. Special Agent Charles F. Saylor, "live on less than five cents a day, and a large number live on less than three cents a day. These are the people who perform the daily toil of the island. Indeed, there are many who subsist from one week's end to another on so simple an article as sugar cane, and this cane is sold in the markets for that very purpose. Cocoanuts can be bought for one cent apiece, which are very nutritious and palatable, but hardly desirable to use largely as a ration for workingmen.

"I investigated the meals of workingmen of all

classes many times, and am confident that their food is insufficient to produce a great amount of labor energy. It consists of a limited amount of bread, some tubers and a few beans in a sort of bean soup. This is the ration of field or factory workmen. Boys from ten to fifteen years of age receive from nine to eighteen cents and the unskilled adult laborers receive an average price of thirty cents a day." On this small sum the Porto Rican must feed and clothe himself and his family. A very high degree of mental intelligence or physical energy cannot be expected in people who are not sufficiently fed. In many portions of Cuba a better state of affairs exists, but the difference is not great, and Cuban laborers will be found, like their Porto Rican and Filipino confrères, herded together in huts made of bamboo and palm leaves. At the approach of a stranger the large families swarm out of their cramped quarters like bees; but here the simile ends. There is no incentive to bee-like activity and industry in the swarming of human beings.

These are the people who will inevitably seek American shores; who are already here in considerable numbers. To a labor element already mixed and sorely needing better conditions in the southern borders of the United States will be added a class of tropic-bred, long-oppressed laborers who are unfamiliar with the problem of existence in the West, and who will receive almost as little as they will expect. It cannot be said that the majority of employers study the question of the relation of wages to moral and mental development, or that many would be influenced by such considerations if their own aggrandisement weighed in the balance.



## THE SILENT PARTNER IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

JOSEPH SOHN

We occasionally find in connection with great mercantile enterprises a so-called "silent partner," whose name does not appear in the title of the company, yet whose capital supports it, whose fertile brain conducts its affairs and whose business principles furnish the basis of its credit and influence. The simile may not inaptly be applied to that vast political corporation which, in the light of present events, must soon be established between the two great members of the English-speaking races. The Anglo-American alliance also will be dominated by its silent partner. I refer to that influence which, to-day, calmly and silently asserts its sway in every portion of the English-speaking world—the influence of the Scottish strain.

Ever since the project of an Anglo-Saxon union has been mooted, continental organs have inveighed against it on many and various grounds. Above all, it is urged that the term Anglo-Saxon, as applied to the American people, is ridiculous, inasmuch as we constitute at present a conglomerate of nationalities—as if language, laws and customs were a dead letter. Furthermore, it is urged that before we enter upon an Anglo-Saxon union we should assimilate the motley nationalities at present constituting our commonwealth. To this we may reply that cohesiveness is amply guaranteed by our institutions, many of which have survived for over a thousand years in England. If these writers, many of whom are Germans, believe, however, that because of our composite character there is no

leading racial element among us, no directing agency, no principle which is so to speak "ton-angebend," they are again grievously in error.

We have only recently had a pregnant illustration of the pertinacity and power of certain racial influences. Before the close of the fifteenth century, the Moorish dominion in the south of Spain was completely crushed. The Moors lost their political identity; they were forced to embrace the religion of the conquerors; they were subjected to the fiercest persecution, and thousands and thousands of them were banished. Yet the Arab racial influence remained; and the history of Spanish conquest in America, with its religious and national fanaticism, was an afterglow of the Arab conquests of centuries before; while the gradual extinction of Spanish power to-day reads like the last sad page of Moslem dominion in the peninsula. Thus, too, the fixity of system and genius for organization peculiar to Rome maintained its supremacy for centuries and extended its ramifications through every department of life. It has found a formidable rival only in the individualizing influence of the Germanic race, which has slowly but surely triumphed over all opposing influences. But perhaps the most remarkable modern triumph of a powerful racial principle is illustrated in the silent ascendancy of the Scottish strain (also thoroughly Teutonic in its essence) over every other national element in Great Britain and America.

The position of the English race in history is unique. Like the island which it inhabits, it may forever serve as an example of what the highest degree of cultivation can do, and the history of the English race from its earliest beginnings to the present day may be defined as a steady and continuous process of *cultivation*. This word conveys to me the very essence of the nature of this restless, busy and practical people, whose

attention is constantly directed to public affairs and to the development of material resources. Let us see how we may account for these national traits and tendencies.

England has been inhabited and conquered in turn by the most powerful races on the face of the globe—by Britons, Romans, Danes, Saxons and Normans; yet never did the victor obtain a supremacy so great as to enable him completely to overshadow the conquered race, and to develop freely and peacefully from within. On the contrary, from the very moment of his first victory the conqueror invariably realized that he would have his hands full if he would maintain his position; and thus he was constantly kept upon the *qui vive*, and all his faculties were directed outwardly to retain what he had acquired. Restricted to an island encompassed by the flowing sea, surrounded upon all sides by a race whose influence was too vast to be entirely subdued, the conqueror found his task prepared for him. He found that he would have to exercise all his ingenuity upon material which was everywhere ready at hand—material which might be molded, but which could not be ignored.

This antagonism of races reached its climax at the time of the Norman conquest. Scarcely had the haughty Norman invaders, whose very name had made all Europe tremble, achieved a military triumph at Hastings, than they were immediately confronted upon every hand and at every step by a stupendous task which it took them centuries to perform. They found that the principles, language, customs and traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race had to be reckoned with. As well try to uproot the Himalayas as to uproot these. Thus the problem was presented by the friction of two powerful races upon a restricted arena; and the result was an immediate, incessant and vigorous action in-



volution a long and interesting process of development. Two gigantic forces met and clashed in the great public arena, where matters of mutual concern had to be adjusted. Men were brought face to face and challenged to immediate deed. These men spoke loudly and struck hard; they were put upon their best mettle, and it was by dint of their utmost exertions and by the sweat of their brow that they built up their great institutions. Indeed, we can fairly see these, the great civil and political institutions of England, rising in the open amid the lusty shouts and mighty blows of the workers.

This interesting process of development reached its climax in the glorious age of Elizabeth. Now the work was done; the principle of action which had made English history was dead. Swiftly and surely the aristocracy began to degenerate; the topmost branches of that tree which had bourgeoned so proudly during the middle ages began to wither and die. It is true that among the lower orders of the people there was still some material capable of being molded. It was there that Cromwell found it; and in the puritans it was the vital germ, the moral essence of the race, which had to be transplanted to the virgin soil of the colonies in order that it might flourish and expand. Unlike the purer German race, which arose phoenix-like from its deepest political abasement, the English stock was incapable of regeneration from within. Fresh life-blood had to be infused into it by a stronger, purer and more original element. While its best traditions were to be preserved, it had to be molded anew; it had to be led again by high precept and example, and new paths had to be pointed out to its enterprising nature.

This splendid mission has been performed by the Scottish race; and in this article I shall endeavor to show how powerful has been its influence in molding

the British and American people of to-day. While Scottish preeminence in many spheres is generally acknowledged, I cannot find that its great scope and far-reaching importance have been at all adequately realized. This conviction was acquired while exploring the vast field of British biography opened up by Leslie Stephen.\* Fascinated by the subject, which obtains additional importance from recent developments, I entered upon an investigation, an abstract of which is here submitted. As the press may perhaps be considered the most potent factor of modern progress, the preference is here given to the founders and pioneers of modern journalism.

*Journalism.* John Sterling (Scotch-Irish), from whom the London *Times* acquires its sobriquet of "The Thunderer." James Johnston, founder of the *Standard*, the second largest paper in England. Daniel Stuart, promoter of the first daily evening paper in England, the *Star*. John Douglas Cook, editor of the *Saturday*

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\* The "Dictionary of National Biography" by Leslie Stephen (now comprising 57 vols. to letter W) is undoubtedly the greatest literary enterprise of the century. The presentation of so colossal a record of individual achievement enables the student of British ethnology to conduct his labors upon what may in some respects be considered a new basis of inquiry. Encouraged by the splendid material here afforded, I entered upon an investigation as to the comparative influence of the various racial constituents of Great Britain and America. The material upon which my statistics are based has been gathered from every available source. All the standard works of reference have been consulted, such as Leslie Stephen's "Dictionary of National Biography" (entire), "Men of the Reign" (entire), "Men and Women of the Time" (entire), "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Appleton's Encyclopædia of American Biography," etc. In addition to these, special biographies, genealogical records, and sketches in periodicals and newspapers have been made use of, and, in order to obtain the necessary information regarding prominent Americans of to-day, several hundred letters were sent broadcast to all parts of the United States. It is unnecessary to state that anything like a full presentation, even along the line of this investigation, would be an impossibility. I have therefore confined myself to a few brilliant names.

*Review*. Lord Jeffrey, founder of the *Edinburgh Review*, the first great magazine of Great Britain. William Blackwood, founder of *Blackwood's*. James Fraser, founder of *Fraser's*. Ebenezer Landells, projector of *Punch*. William Chambers, projector of the *Penny Magazine*, the first of its kind. In America, James Gordon Bennet, founder of the *New York Herald*.

These are the men that took the initiative to mold public opinion through the press. They brought the profession of literature to honor and distinction; they elevated journalism to the rank of a science, and made the name of "editor" a power in the intellectual world. In England the press is still largely controlled by them; while in Australia, and more particularly in Canada, almost the entire editorial staff is frequently composed of "Bonnie Scots." This is true, for example, of the *Montreal Herald*, a journal which last year obtained a wide publicity through its publication of Gordon's verses on the German emperor. As the complex character of our press will not admit of discussion within these limits, I here present a few statistics concerning the ancestry of our military and naval commanders:

	ANCESTRY	
	<i>Paternal</i>	<i>Maternal</i>
Paul Jones, popular naval hero of the American revolution.	Scotch.	
Andrew Jackson, foremost general, 1812 . .	Scotch-Irish.	
Oliver H. Perry, popular naval hero, 1812 .	English.	Scotch-Irish.
Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief, Mexican war. . . . .	Scotch.	



	ANCESTRY	
	<i>Paternal</i>	<i>Maternal</i>
Matthew C. Perry, commander fleet, Mexican war . . . . .	English.	Scotch-Irish.
U. S. Grant, commander, civil war . .	Scotch.	
David Glasgow Farragut, admiral, civil war . . . . .	Spanish.	Scotch.
Stonewall Jackson, popular hero of South . .	Scotch-Irish.	
Wm. T. Sampson, commander fleet, Spanish-American war . . . . .	Scotch.	
Winfield Scott Schley,	German.	Scotch-Irish.
Theodore Roosevelt, popular hero, Santiago . . . . .	Dutch.	Scotch.

The following passage recently appeared in an editorial in the *New York Journal*: "Farragut, it will be remembered, was of Spanish stock, and a relative of his, of the same name, served on the 'Vizcaya'; yet Farragut displayed from boyhood that supreme energy and efficiency in naval warfare which are supposed to belong peculiarly to the northern races, and which no Spaniard has ever exhibited." The writer attributes these faculties to Farragut's American training, but the above table presents the true solution of the problem. With the exception of Washington and Lee, all our foremost military and naval commanders have been of Scottish ancestry either on the paternal or the maternal side; and thus we find our leading racial factor in combination with the English, Irish, German, Spanish and Dutch elements. Let us now investigate

whether the same status is maintained in church and state. As precedence should ever be accorded to the pioneer, I shall here confine myself to those brave and disinterested pioneers of the church who have carried the gospel abroad :

*Missionaries.* David Bogue, father of the London Missionary Society. David Nasmyth, originator of town and city missions. John Patterson, founder of the Russian Bible society. George Keith, the first missionary sent to America by the society for the propagation of the gospel (1702). Robert Morrison, father of the Chinese mission. William Milne, first missionary to the Malay Archipelago. Robert Moffat, the father and pioneer of South African mission work. David Livingston, the greatest of African missionaries. Alexander Duff and Charles Grant, respectively the greatest missionary and the greatest philanthropist of India.

*Statesmen.* The most brilliant Lord Chancellors of the nineteenth century, Lords Loughborough, Erskine, Eldon, Brougham, Campbell and Cairns; the most conspicuous British statesmen of modern times, William Ewart Gladstone, and, in America, Andrew Hamilton, "The day-star of the revolution," the first to insist upon the right freely to discuss the action of public officials: to which may be added Patrick Henry, Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun (Scotch-Irish), Stephen A. Douglas, James G. Blaine, and Roscoe Conkling (Anglo-Scottish).

Still more remarkable is the showing in the department of finance. The national banking system, the savings bank, and the life insurance society—all these, our greatest financial institutions, were originally planned by men of Scottish genius. Upon the establishment of our own government these men at once

rose to the control of the national finances; and thus we find Hamilton, the first secretary of the treasury; Livingston, the first president of the Bank of the United States; McDougall, the first president of the Bank of New York (the oldest financial institution in the city), and Gracie, the first president of the New York Fire Insurance Company. It is a singular but incontrovertible fact that this supremacy, notwithstanding the great pressure of modern competition, has been steadily maintained. Upon the outbreak of the civil war our finances were entrusted to Salmon P. Chase (Anglo-Scottish), the ablest secretary of the treasury since Hamilton. Here protectionists and free-traders may meet on common ground, for both McKinley and Wilson belong to the above mentioned group; while at the head of the trust of trusts we find John D. Rockefeller, who, by a considerable margin, "o'ertops them a'."

Were it possible to submit the question, "For what is the Anglo-Saxon race especially noted?" to a popular vote, most of the answers would probably fall under the respective headings "Genius for Colonization" and "Inventive Ability." Yet the British genius for colonization has passed through various phases, and has been displayed in three widely different ways. Thus the old navigators, Raleigh, Drake and Smith, were men of the Viking fibre, who were actuated largely by a spirit of adventure. The early settlers of New England transplanted to America the principle of the inviolability of home and the sanctity of the individual. But our famous frontiersmen and explorers of the South and West were recruited largely from the stock which had been trained in the long warfare of the Scottish border.

What has been said of our colonial activity is true also of our proverbial inventive ability. A unique



historical process, begun in England and continued in America, has ever tended to develop all the resources of the individual and to tax his ingenuity to the utmost. For many centuries, however, the exercise of this faculty was confined mainly to the political and social arena. The Scotch, by inaugurating the movement to explore the mysteries of nature, have given a new direction to this impulse, and it is largely to their unparalleled power of subtle analysis that we owe the long chain of inventions which has become the pride and boast of our age. The following list, carefully selected, will attest the correctness of my assertion:

*Discoveries and Inventions.* James Watt, the father of engineers, and the inventor of the steam engine. George Stephenson, the father of the locomotive. Lord Caithness, the inventor of the first steam carriage capable of traveling on ordinary macadamized roads. Gavin Dalziel, the inventor of the first practical bicycle. Sir Henry Bell, the rival of Fulton, and the introducer of practical steam navigation in England. John Elder, the inventor of the compound steam engine. William Murdock, the first to apply coal-gas to illuminating purposes. Charles Morrison, the first projector of the electric telegraph. John Bain, the pioneer of high-speed telegraphy. Robert S. Newall and Sir William Thomson, to whose invention we owe our submarine cable. Andrew Meikle, inventor of the threshing machine. James Nasmyth, inventor of the steam hammer. James Gregory, inventor of the reflecting telescope. George Graham, the inventor of the mercurial pendulum. Sir David Brewster, inventor of the kaleidoscope. James Ged, inventor of stereotyping. J. L. MacAdam, inventor of the system of road-making known as macadamizing. Sir Thomas F. Grant, inventor of the process of distilling fresh water from sea water. James Chalmers, the inventor of the first ad-

hesive stamp. In America we find the inventor of the telegraph, Samuel Finley Breese Morse, a descendant on the maternal side of the famous Dr. Finley of Princeton College; and Thomas A. Edison, the great electrical inventor of the age, whose mother was a Scotchwoman. "It was to her judicious efforts rather than to those of his father that Edison owed that early impetus which gave such admirable scope and direction to his dawning powers." (Dickson's "Life of Edison.")

*Exploration.* David Livingstone, the greatest of African explorers. J. M. Stuart, the greatest of Australian explorers. Sir Alexander MacKenzie, John McLeod and Robert Stuart, respectively the first, second and third to cross the entire American continent north of Mexico. *Colonial Enterprise.* Sir John Macdonald, the organizer of the Dominion of Canada, *Commerce.* R. G. Dun, the founder of the Commercial Agency, the most widely influential commercial institution in the world. *Agriculture.* Cyrus Hall McCormick, through whose efforts it has been possible to accomplish harvesting by machinery. *Mining.* Andrew Carnegie, founder of the largest system of iron and steel works in the world. *Labor.* John Burns; and in America, Carroll D. Wright (Anglo-Scottish), U. S. Commissioner of Labor. George Peabody (Anglo-Scottish), the greatest philanthropist of the century,

In nearly every department of science the Scotch are "facile princeps." They also excel in architecture, while in sculpture, painting and poetry they divide the honors with the English. In the departments of music, acting and oratory, however, they unquestionably yield the palm to the Irish, who have here contributed the greatest number of brilliant names. It is a noteworthy fact that the most eminent actors of Great Britain have had a plentiful infusion of Irish, French, Jewish or Welsh blood. Thus Garrick was French by

extraction. Kean's parents were Irish, as was also the gifted mother of the great tragedian Kemble. Booth is frequently said to have been of Jewish origin, while Sir Henry Irving (Brodribb) is a Welshman. "The Welsh strain, which I have inherited from my mother, has kept my blood from stagnating," said Dean Stanley; and it is not unlikely that Sir Henry Irving owes his fine histrionic ability to the same source.

Yet, after all, it is the "masculine element of Europe," as Bismarck designates it, the Teutonic strain, so long preserved in perfect purity in the Scottish lowlands, that to-day gives force and direction to British and American enterprise. If, therefore, we would form an adequate idea of the dynamic resources, the tendencies and the moral complexion of an Anglo-Saxon union, we must consider, first and foremost, the character and achievements of the "canny Scot," that silent partner who, in the light of history, would inevitably control its destinies.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

FOLLOWING THE example of the leading college presidents of the country, President Eliot of Harvard has finally concluded that nothing can be gained and much may be lost by substituting Bryan for McKinley as president. He thinks that Bryan cannot, without serious danger, be entrusted with the money question or the civil service question, and his foreign policy promises nothing which the present administration is not already giving. This is significant, in view of the fact that President Eliot is known to dislike Mr. McKinley and the republican party and to abhor protection. Yet he thinks it is better to have all this "abomination" than to have Bryan.

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THOSE NEWSPAPERS that are criticising Mr. Hanna for saying "there are no trusts in this country" had better catch up with their information. On this point at least Mr. Hanna is entirely right. The trust is a special kind of organization. There were a few, but for various reasons they have all been dissolved. There are large corporations, there may be good and bad corporations, there may even be some corporations that come very near having a monopoly, but none of them are trusts. They are simply corporations, that is all. Mr. Hanna is right, and his critics do but reveal their ignorance in disputing his statement. It devolves upon those who dispute Mr. Hanna's statement to point out at least one trust and state when and where it was organized. No more talk about large corporations or monopoly is to the point. They must find a trust, or in decency stop talking.

IN AN ELABORATE editorial on the political situation the *Atlanta Constitution* assumes the role of prophet thus:

"The *Constitution*, therefore, summing up the situation as it exists to day, is convinced that Mr. Bryan will be the next president of the *United States*, and that under his administration the country will witness the greatest trade expansion it has ever felt."

It would be interesting to know on what the *Constitution* bases its prophecy that under Bryan "the country will witness the greatest trade expansion which it has ever felt." What is Bryan expected to do to aid trade expansion? He has hinted nothing and the *Constitution* hints nothing. The only ideas that he was ever known to express on industrial policy are free trade and suppressing corporations. Does the *Constitution* think these would give this country "the greatest trade expansion which it has ever felt?" How did it operate under Cleveland?

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LABOR COMMISSIONER WRIGHT has been making some fresh investigations of the tendency of wages from 1891 to 1900. It is interesting to note the movement of wages during these ten years. He has taken 1891 as the basis of comparison, treating the wages of that year as 100. In '92 wages rose to 100.3; in '93, the first year after the country had voted for a new tariff policy, they dropped to 99.32; in '94 to 98.06, in '95 to 97.88, in '96 to 97.93, and in '97, with the return of the protective policy, they rose to 98.96; in '98 to 98.79, in '99 to 101.54 and in 1900 to 103.43. Thus under the anti-protective policy from 1893 to 1896 wages steadily declined, and in the first year after the return of the protective policy they began to rise, feebly at first, but they are now 3.43 per cent. higher than in 1891. It is hardly to be expected that intelligent laborers throughout the country will vote to return to a policy under

which wages declined every year in preference to one under which they have shown a steady rise.

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THERE HAS been a very generous effort to give Mr. Bryan full credit for integrity. His worst heresies and his most violent absurdities have been treated as honest if mistaken opinion. His talk the last few weeks, however, has done much to destroy all ground for any longer so regarding him. His fulsome eulogy of Croker, his repeated assertion that the administration desires to build forts near large cities in order to use the army to coerce workingmen into abject submission to capitalist terms, and similar utterances which neither he nor anybody else believes, reveal political desperation. He is showing all the signs of a reckless politician who is willing to sacrifice intellectual integrity, social order and public welfare in a final plunge for the presidency. His defeat, however, is now assured, and every effort should be made to elect a legislature in Nebraska which will prevent his election to the United States senate, which is evidently his last card. Mr. Bryan is a political Boulanger who came to the surface on a flood of industrial discontent, and for four years has successfully commercialized a larger body of cheap economic fallacy and political perversion than was ever before palmed off upon an intelligent people.

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IT IS interesting as a study in psychology to watch the working of the mugwump mind. The mental machinery of that unique personage always has had difficulty with the tin-plate question. For some years after the passage of the tariff law in 1890, the *New York Evening Post* and the little group of which it is a conspicuous member vociferously denied that a pound of tin plate was being made in this country, which they brazenly kept up until the native product reached sev-



eral million pounds a year. And now that almost the whole supply of the American market is produced in this country they are denying that the tariff had anything to do with it. Rising to the occasion the *Philadelphia Record* says: "The truth is that the tin-plate industry was on the eve of following the development of other manufactures of iron and steel, when the duty on foreign plate was increased." They first declared we could not produce tin plate, and when under protection the production was reaching millions of pounds a year they denied that we were producing any, and now that we produce nearly all we use they declare that the industry would have come any way. We may expect soon to hear that the whole tin-plate industry was here before the McKinley tariff. Nothing seems to trouble these people quite so much as a new American industry.

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IN AN extended editorial on "Politics and Panics," the *Boston Herald* reviews the influence of elections upon industry, and, while admitting that the politics of 1837 brought on the panic of that year, says: "We do not think that any panic [business depression] is to be attributed to that cause." How strange it is that the *Herald* should remember back to 1837 and entirely forget 1892. Only old men can remember 1837, but the average first voter cannot forget 1892. If the *Herald* has forgotten that milestone of prosperity, a glance at its own files for 1892 will remind it that this country then reached its highest point of prosperity, measured in foreign trade, in total production, in wages and in the purchasing power of a day's labor. Reference to its files will also refresh its memory of the fact that immediately after the election returns were announced all the forces of business disaster set in, and within six months we had a full-blown panic and the foundations

of a four years' disastrous industrial depression. But the *Herald* thinks "that the election of Bryan to the presidency would precipitate a business revulsion now." Surely it would, and for the same reasons that Mr. Cleveland's election created one in 1892. Cleveland's election was an avowed attack upon our industrial policy, and fear of the consequences of what he would do gave us the panic. Bryan's election would be an avowed attack upon both our industrial and financial policy; he is for both free trade and free silver, which means destroying both our markets and our money.

EX-GOVERNOR Altgeld is on a missionary tour in the East to enlighten the Yankee mind on money. Naturally desiring to carry the light to the point of the greatest darkness, he goes to New Haven, Conn., and addresses the Yale democratic club thus:

"On the gold standard level of prices our products bring only about half as much in the world's markets as they would on a bimetallic standard. Had the republicans not established this gold standard, then the \$1,500,000,000 would have amounted to \$3,000,000,000. We could have paid our foreign charges and, instead of having only \$137,000,000 left from our enormous exports, we would have had \$1,637,000,000 in our possession."

It may be true that men like Mr. Altgeld have talked this stuff so long in the South and West that they themselves come very near believing it. We have only to adopt fifty-cent dollars, so that it takes two of them to buy a bushel of wheat, and American farmers will get two gold dollars a bushel for their wheat in London. And Altgeld and Bryan expect the people to take that seriously! They seem to forget that we have tried that several times. We tried it in continental times before Hamilton established the first Bank of the United States. We issued a lot of cheap money, but it fell in value finally to one cent on the dollar. The South tried it during the war and it took five confed-

erate dollars to buy a mutton chop and sixty to pay for a decent dinner. The United States tried it with the greenbacks, and just in the proportion as it looked doubtful that gold would be forthcoming to redeem them they dropped to less than fifty cents on the dollar at home and to nothing abroad. And yet the man who is preaching this stuff would probably be secretary of the treasury if Bryan were elected. What could we expect from an administration that believes that if we would only call fifty cents a dollar foreigners would give us twice as much of their wealth in exchange for ours. Just the name that would properly characterize that kind of reasoning is not at hand.



## SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN CHICAGO

FRANCES BUCKLEY EMBREE

The social settlement idea first formulated itself along the line of educational helpfulness with young Oxford and Cambridge graduates as its chief promoters. Of these Arnold Toynbee is most widely known, as from his efforts, begun in 1875, resulted the organization known as Toynbee Hall, established January 1, 1885.

The inspiration generated by this pioneer in practical humanitarianism soon called other social settlements into being. Of the fourteen settlements now actively at work in Chicago, Hull House was the first to be established, Miss Jane Addams and Miss Ellen Starr being the head residents.

The history of Hull House itself is an interesting one. In 1856 it was a dignified family mansion, surrounded by a shady grove with a fine lawn and garden. After 1871 it and its neighborhood deteriorated and Hull House was successively a Washingtonian Home, the residence of the Little Sisters of the Poor, a tenement house and a junk-shop, from which last low estate it was rescued by its present occupants.

The nineteenth ward is the most criminal and cosmopolitan section of Chicago. Twenty nationalities (including Americans) find hospitality at Hull House, which is situated in a strategic position in the ward.

The activities at Hull House may be divided into four lines more or less distinct,—social, educational, humanitarian and civic, the emphasis being put upon social lines.

One of the most interesting centers of this phase of

the work is the hall, used variously for the giving of amateur theatricals, lectures, dances, etc. It seats 350 people. The stage-curtain appropriately bears the motto: "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players," and is further decorated by an arrangement of flags indicative of the cosmopolitan nature of the audiences sitting before it,—and for that matter of the players too. Last winter a most successful presentation of the "Return of Odysseus" was given in the original Greek, by Greek residents of the neighborhood. A Latin play was talked of, to be given by the Italians, but the plan did not mature.

Debates on civic questions are of frequent occurrence at Hull House. The social life of the men is helped by a club-room, furnished with pool and billiard tables, where smoking is allowed. The efforts of Hull House for the promotion of neighborliness are developed on the lines found to be educative for culture and amusement by people of less limited means and opportunity.

In the laboratory, classes in millinery, dressmaking, cooking, chemistry, architectural drawing and fencing, meet; and on the same floor in Butler Hall are the rooms for manual training and sloyd.

The Hull House kitchen furnishes good food daintily served and at moderate prices to the general public, and, aside from its practical value, exerts a strong educative influence in hygiene and orderliness.

About half a block from Hull House is a large playground belonging to it, the beneficent influence of which, in fostering the play-instinct, can hardly be overestimated.

It is impossible in a brief article to describe all the activities of Hull House, but it is perhaps best characterized as a loving, modest exemplification of beautiful living.

Northwestern University Settlement was the one

next in order to be established in Chicago. It is not so fortunate as Hull House in having a head resident whose life is intimately bound up in it to the exclusion of outside interests; but from the beginning it has had the warm sympathy and aid of Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, the wife of the former president of the University.

Its present headquarters is at 252 West Chicago Avenue, in the sixteenth ward. Plans are on foot for permanent buildings at Augusta and Noble Streets, a site there having been recently purchased. There is an incorporated association in charge of the affairs of the settlement, having as members prominent men of the university and city. The teachers for the various classes are drawn largely from the university, although much valuable aid is given by outside friends.

The sixteenth ward is the most congested in Chicago, and its high rate of infant mortality (30 per cent. in 1899, while that for the entire city is 4 per cent.) suggested to the settlement residents a special line of work, having for its object the saving of child life, *i. e.*, the sale of sterilized milk. Cards, in which the danger of using the ordinary milk sold is set forth and patronage for the sterilized milk solicited, are printed in Polish, Scandinavian, German and English, the first three being the prevailing languages of the district. With the friendly reputation of the settlement back of it, the sale of the milk is constantly increasing with the best of results.

In the Northwestern University Settlement announcements for the present year, nineteen regular classes in practical studies are offered, four of these in domestic science and three in music. Eight clubs are announced with the statement that application for membership will be welcomed by all of them. For children there is a circulating library open two days in



the week, a picture loan collection from which pictures may be drawn and retained two weeks, and a saving's bank which receives deposits every Wednesday.

Besides these specific organizations, there is announced a regular Saturday evening social gathering, a day nursery, kindergarten, saving's bank for the elders and a coffee-house. Legal advice and the assistance of a resident probation officer of the juvenile court is offered.

This brief summary gives a mere outline of the attempt towards neighborliness on the part of the settlement. The different departments have all been built up in answer to expressed needs, and are having a natural development, as opportunity opens the way.

The Chicago Commons at 140 North Union Street is the family settlement of Chicago, Professor and Mrs. Taylor and their four children forming the nucleus of the group of workers. The work began in answer to the need, felt by Professor Taylor, for a place for original investigations in carrying out his work as professor of Christian sociology at the Chicago Theological Seminary. Several students took up residence in the neighborhood in May, 1894, and as the work broadened the dwelling now occupied was selected, and an organization on the present lines effected. Like Hull House, this settlement home has a history. It is a dignified dwelling built in early war-times by a wealthy German family, its neighborhood being at one time very aristocratic. From its broad piazza the gleam of the then untainted river could be seen, and no prophecy of its present environment would have seemed possible. The fire of 1871 so changed things that, shortly after, the Kuhn mansion became headquarters for the Northwestern Railway; later, a sailor's boarding house, then a foul Italian tenement. It is small wonder that when

Professor Taylor took steps to secure it as a residence, the owners looked at him askance.

"Do you mean," said one of them, "that you people, who might live on Ashland Boulevard, are going deliberately to make your home down here among the Italians, in this dust and smoke?" "That is precisely what I mean," Prof. Taylor answered. To this astounding statement there succeeded a curious scrutiny ended by the remark: "There are such people!"

The salient point of the Commons' individuality is the prominence given to economic reform. Professor Taylor is known as a warm friend of labor, although he carefully avoids any appeal to class antagonisms by emphasizing the historical development of the present economic situation. The Tuesday meeting, established by him, furnishes a forum for the absolutely free discussion of whatever occupies the public mind, and is characterized by the men taking part in it as "the freest floor in Chicago."

There are, of course, the usual classes and clubs at the Commons. The kindergarten was the initial effort after the work was put on its present basis. It particularly emphasizes industrial theory and practice. The children plant and tend garden, learning the principles of farming in this way, and in domestic work they perform real tasks in the laundry, the kitchen and in general house-cleaning.

Mothers' meetings, clubs for women and girls, various study and social clubs, and distinctive efforts to brighten Sunday by the use of music and ethical discussions which avoid controversy, broaden the life of the settlement's neighbors. The strong feature of the summer-work is the entertaining of as many as possible for a week's outing in the Commons' Good-Will Camp at Elgin, which is kept open for ten weeks every season.

The University of Chicago Settlement finds its

work in the stock-yards district, where every breath reminds one of the great industry near at hand. Its quarters are only temporary and not particularly convenient, being the second-floor of the building at 4638 Ashland Avenue. The settlement, however, owns one fine building near by—the gymnasium—built at a cost of \$8,500. It is the center of the social, civic and educational life of the neighborhood, and the playground in connection with it helps in the valuable cultural undertaking of furnishing legitimate outlet for the play instinct which tenement life is apt to turn into street-rowdiness.

Ten nationalities are represented in the settlement neighborhood. A particular need of the people is one found in some degree in all settlement districts,—a person or organization of influence to take the initiative in needed reforms, and in the securing of rights civil and educational. To wisely use this directing and advisory power which the exercise of friendliness bestows upon the settlement is to fulfil the best ideal of the movement toward humanitarianism. Miss Mary McDowell, the head resident of the University of Chicago Settlement, is the settlement idea incarnate, and all her work is marked by strong practical good sense, which makes it eminently characteristic of the great western University which has oversight of it.

One of the pleasant social features of the year is the annual May-day spent in the university campus, the members of the University of Chicago League, organized to promote the settlement work, serving an out-door lunch.

The class and club-work of this settlement is similar to that of the others described. The broad spirit actuating all its activities may be illustrated by quoting its civic creed, formulated by Miss McDowell on St.



Paul's text, and taught to all the children coming under the influence of the settlement:

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, and we are his children, brothers and children all. We are citizens of these United States, and we believe our flag stands for self-sacrifice for the good of all the people. We want, therefore, to be true citizens of our great city, and will show our love for her by our works.

"Chicago does not ask us to die for her welfare; she asks us to live for her, and so to live and so to act that her government may be pure, her officers honest, and every corner of her territory shall be a place fit to grow the best men and women who shall rule over her."

## CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

### School Teachers for the Philippines

Education has followed the flag into Porto Rico, and now from the Philippines comes a call for teachers. Prof. Atkinson, superintendent of schools in Luzon, has issued an appeal which already has been responded to by a number of young women graduates from the Normal College of New York city. The salaries offered range from \$75 to \$100 per month for teachers, and from \$2,000 to \$2,500 per year for superintendents. They will be brave women who accept these positions; it will be no mere adventurous pastime to go into a semi-savage and largely hostile country, and undertake to educate children who are in every particular the antithesis of young America. It is a task equal in difficulty to that of the missionary, and the teachers who succeed will be fully worthy to represent the civilization they are to help carry into the Orient.

### Influences on Boys' Lives

James B. Reynolds, head worker at the University Settlement in New York, recently delivered an address on a subject which he ought to be well qualified to discuss,—“Early Influences on Boys' Lives.” While not startlingly novel, his statement of the case reemphasizes, by experience and observation of a peculiarly appropriate nature, the importance of surrounding young boys, especially in the tenement-house districts of large cities, with influences that will help them towards law-abiding and order-seeking citizenship.

The first influence which enters a child's life is heredity; this determines his character at the start, and the case is hard indeed for those who would

deal with boys of criminal tendencies, of whom Bishop South remarked that they "are not born, but condemned into the world." Mr. Reynolds recognizes many other sources of evil influence, such as personal control of boys over each other, and ignorant, corrupt government; but his work in one of the poorest quarters of New York city has convinced him that social environment is the most important factor in the lives of young people. They are social beings, fond of clubs and full of social desires. The character of the social opportunities provided to satisfy these desires may be a determining factor in their development. This, of course, leads so directly to an argument for social settlements as to suggest avowed special pleading, but if it does lead in that direction it is so much the better for the settlement cause, because the premises are correct and the reasoning is sound.

**Economic Studies  
in the Y. M. C. A.**

The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations is making a special effort to introduce the study of social economics and political science in the evening classes of the associations throughout North America. For this purpose it has adopted the courses given by the Institute of Social Economics, with which the publication of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE is closely associated. President Gunton has been selected as International Examiner for the Y. M. C. A. in these subjects, and the International Committee has secured the services of a special secretary, Mr. A. G. Bookwalter, to promote the wide introduction of the work. Mr. Bookwalter will visit local associations throughout the country, delivering lectures and preparing the way for classes in economics and political science; in many cases he will himself organize the classes and start them in their work. At present he is actively occupied in New York



city and vicinity, but will start soon on a trip into New England, going later into New York, Pennsylvania and probably the middle West.

The work of these classes, as well as of the regular study clubs of the Institute, wherever organized, is conducted by means of special text-books, periodicals and correspondence, together with local lectures where feasible,—a plan, it will be seen, similar in many respects both to the University Extension and Chautauqua systems. One of the special books, just published, and which is having a gratifying reception, is "Outlines of Social Economics," specially prepared for the work of study clubs, Y. M. C. A. classes, and high schools, as well as for individual home students. A companion volume on "Political Science" will be ready about January first.

Mr. Bookwalter has had considerable experience in practical educational work, is a graduate of Yale University, and a young man of fine abilities and promise. Readers of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE will be interested, we are sure, to know of the broad field in which the Institute of Social Economics is working.

**Where Kindergartens are Needed**

It is a pleasure to make special note of the fact, when a prominent southern educator is found demanding the introduction of kindergartens among the factory children of his own section.

Nowhere else in the country, outside of city slums, is the need for just this institution greater. Professor P. P. Claxton, head of the department of pedagogy in the State Normal and Industrial College at Greensboro, North Carolina, puts the case in strong terms in the October *Kindergarten Review*. As he points out, the kindergarten would add to the years of school life, which in the South are all too few, especially among

the factory and colored children. The lack of education for negro children is a standing reproach, but the condition of children in the new factory towns is not so well known. Neglected, overworked, underfed, surrounded by every influence that drags down and none that elevates, their condition is indeed pitiable. No race problem is involved in this matter, for the factory children are white. One has but to travel through the new factory sections of the South to appreciate how much of justification there is for Prof. Claxton's appeal. It is not that the factory children now at work could be put into kindergartens; they are too old; but the younger children of factory families, who are to be put at work at the earliest opportunity, are now growing up in neglect and idleness, and these, more than any other members of the families, could exert a revolutionizing influence on the quality of the operatives' homes. The ideas, tastes and desires developed in the kindergarten and carried back into the homes would do more than any other available influence to break up the stolid indifference with which these people submit to miserable conditions of life; and to create this kind of wholesome discontent is the first step towards decent working and living conditions. As a part of the resulting improvement, children would be sent to the primary schools after finishing the kindergarten course, instead of being crowded into the mills; and if primary schools were not available the struggle to obtain them could then be undertaken with prospects of success that are entirely lacking under present conditions. No community, South or North, will voluntarily tax itself to provide something which nobody is demanding.

## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

#### Where National Honor Is Involved

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In one of your paragraphs in "Editorial Crucible" in the August number I find this language: "True, it has removed the danger in the specific form of the president paying our national obligations in 'coin' (silver), but the danger now exists in another form." This refers to the passage by the 56th congress of the national bank act fixing the single gold standard.

I am amazed that any professedly loyal American can exult in contemplation of the fact that the American people have been victimized through their chief executive and congressional representatives and senators by a band of financial conspirators, to the extent that they, the people, have put it out of their power for the time being at least to discharge their honest obligations in a manner perfectly honest and honorable both to themselves as debtors and to the bondholders as creditors, by paying such obligations in strict conformity with the letter of the contract as it was stipulated upon the face of the bonds.

What is this stipulation? Payment will be made in



“coin of the standard weight and fineness of the standard of the United States of America of July 14, 1870.” What was that standard? The silver dollar,  $371\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine,  $412\frac{1}{2}$  grains standard, and the gold dollar of 23.2 grains fine, 25.8 grains standard, ratio of 16 to 1.

In all candor and conscience, I ask, since the holders of those bonds gladly, eagerly, took them, containing the said stipulation, why should the people, their debtors, now be required to pay specifically in gold coin, the dearer, the higher-priced metal; that is, a metal to get a dollar of which requires an exchange of a greater amount of commodities? This is indefensible morally, ethically and legally.

What bimetallists would do is to rehabilitate our standard silver dollar to its constitutional function of basic money by legislative enactment, so that the silver disk of  $412\frac{1}{2}$  grains standard would be full 100 cents intrinsic debt-paying and purchasing power. This can be done by putting silver upon equality with gold as to mint privilege at the ratio of 16 to 1, and saying by law that every dollar coined is full legal tender, basic, self-redemptive money; and inhibiting any specification in private contract providing for the payment of money at some time in the future, save and except the specification “lawful money of the United States of America.”

I maintain that this would be in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the constitution, as it would protect the debtor class from the unjust exactions of the creditor class and more equally balance the equities between them. This should be the chief province of statesmanship.

The fact that the bondholders having our bonds payable in “coin” show their solicitude to have them made payable specifically in gold coin argues conclusively that they derive material advantage and pecuniary

profit thereby and therefrom. This in itself is evidence why the law should supervene to protect the great mass of the people against injustice at the hands of their creditors.

JOHN AUBREY JONES, San Francisco, Cal.

We print this communication not because there is anything in Mr. Jones' argument sufficiently new to warrant lengthy discussion, for readers of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE are familiar with our views on this subject, but rather as a good illustration of the specious kind of reasoning that serves to cloak the essential dishonesty of this 50-per cent. repudiation proposition. Of course, legally and technically, the government could order that all these obligations be paid in silver; for that matter it could repudiate them entirely if it chose. It is a moral and industrial, not a legal question. The word "coin" was used in the bonds mentioned by our correspondent, with the tacit assumption on both sides that it would continue to be a matter of indifference which was used, and, of course, that the word would never be permitted to mean anything less than the best standard money of the nation. By the immense cheapening in its cost of production and great increase of output, silver has declined in value until a silver dollar is now worth as bullion less than half a gold dollar. Suppose our correspondent buys and pays for a certain horse, to be delivered in a week, specifying no conditions because of assumed good faith as to just what the bargain contemplates, and during the week the horse goes blind and lame. Technically the seller might insist on delivering the animal and keeping the price, but our correspondent would hardly appreciate that point of view. He might even go to law about it, and possibly regard the other fellow as a lineal descendant of Shylock. Just the same, the government *might* to-day force 49-

cent dollars on its creditors, and be technically correct about it; only the republic would in the act become a tyrannical despotism, beside which any "imperialism" of the type now luridly declared to be "impending" would seem Utopian by comparison.

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### "Natural" Rights and Social Authority

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your very interesting review of "First Principles in Politics," by William Samuel Lilly, in the September number of your magazine, you state: "If by rights he means rights acquired not by social experience, rights that are universal and inherent in human nature, then natural rights are limited to the rights of physical existence, the right to live and take whatever the environment offers that is essential to life. This right belongs to every human being; it is in pursuance of this right that big fish eat little fish, that wolves eat lambs and foxes rob henroosts. But all rights to protection from molestation by other human beings, and which are recognized by others, are rights acquired through and guaranteed by society." The inference is that you believe man's natural rights are operative only when he is in a state of nature, or in a savage or unorganized state; that when he passes from the unorganized to the social or organized state his natural rights cease, and henceforth his rights are wholly civil or those guaranteed by statutory law. True, he, with every other member of the society, has deposited his individual or arbitrary right with the common power called the state, but by so doing is he deprived of his natural rights? Is it not true that all those "rights acquired through and guaranteed by society" first had their origin in each individual's natural rights? The right of suffrage is claimed by nearly



all writers to be a civil and not a natural right. No less an authority than Herbert Spencer takes this view. But is it not an inherent right that man shall have a voice in saying how he shall be governed? If it is, then the franchise is a natural right, and suffrage is the method employed through which he expresses that right. Man's rights might be said to be relative. When in a simple or savage state his rights are few and are unconsciously exercised. But as he slowly progresses upward toward the complex or civilized state, his rights—his natural rights—also develop with this growth. Finally, when he merges into the complex or social state, he finds also that his natural rights are numerous and complex. He may have become conscious of this, as you say, by "experience," but even so do not his rights continue to be natural ones?

A. J. THOMPSON, San Francisco, Cal.

In the extreme sense, man might be said to have the "natural" right to do whatever he pleases; but in so far as any of his actions come to affect his fellows or involve relations with them his rights become social rights, limited by the interests and rights of the others. The only authoritative method by which these "others" can express and enforce their decision as to what shall constitute social rights is through the government, either passively as under autocracy, by acquiescence, or actively as under democracy, by voluntary choice. The right to "have a voice in saying how he shall be governed" is not even an original natural right, because government itself always implies social relation, and if the individual lives as a part of organized society that society necessarily, for its own protection, assumes the right to decide whether he—the individual—shall have a voice in the government or be governed absolutely by the organized aggregate. It is in accordance with this

higher right of the mass over the subordinate right of the individual that criminals and the insane are debarred from any voice in their own government, and in the same way society thus far has determined that the interests of the whole will be better served by confining the suffrage to male adults. This restriction may or may not be a wise one, but society has the indisputable right to make it. By the same law children are and always will be excluded from the franchise, while on the "natural rights" theory they, together with criminals and idiots, are fully as much entitled to vote as are women, or men for that matter.

Whether the action of society in restraining the individual and prescribing his social and political rights is just or unjust, liberal or tyrannical, depends on the state of civilization and, as a part of that, the extent to which the individual can safely be given free rein without injury to the whole. On this point the state is and necessarily must be the final judge, at least so long as the people prefer to have organized society continue rather than revert to anarchy. If the individual believes himself oppressed, he may strive to alter the government or to prove that his larger liberty would not injure the general welfare, or he may even resist (and sometimes does, through revolution), and so modify the government that could not be moved otherwise; but, so long as the government does continue to represent the general aggregate, either through their passive acquiescence or active support, it has the right to prescribe the individual's limitations and suppress his resistance if it can. If it cannot, that is proof that it no longer represents the mass, and the social right of authority passes into other hands.

## QUESTION BOX

### Politics and the Miners' Strike

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your article in the October magazine on the coal miners' strike, you say that one of the causes of complaint is that the miners have to dig 3,360 pounds to the ton, and you say that this is a misapprehension of the facts; the 3,360 pounds includes stones and dirt, and yields the proper amount of coal at the breakers, and that the scale of wages has been adjusted on this basis for years.

If the miners understand this, what can be their object in making such a claim? Does it not strengthen the opinion that Bryan's political managers have interested themselves in getting as many grievances trumped up as possible, to make capital for the stump politicians?

K. G.

The statement that the miners have to dig 3,360 pounds to the ton is not strictly correct. There is no rule requiring that they should dig this number of pounds for a ton, but that they should dig 2,240 pounds of coal, and in the usual way of doing this, especially when they are careless and throw in the slate, stone and dirt, it takes about 3,360 pounds to yield a ton of coal. Strictly speaking, however, it is the 2,240 pounds of coal they have to dig and not 3,360 pounds of coal and dirt. Of course, it is quite natural that when a strike is on the laborers should make the most of all their disadvantages. They are not to be blamed for this. Yet the emphasis that is being placed on this statement that the miners have to dig 3,360 pounds of coal for a ton, by Bryan and political speakers, does give the



whole affair a bad political seeming. There are many things which seem to lend color to the opinion that Bryan's political managers have interested themselves in intensifying the less reasonable demands of the strikers in the hope that it will make Bryan votes. In this they are probably doomed to disappointment; first, because the intelligent public is beginning to understand this motive, and wherever it is believed to be the motive it is unqualifiedly condemned. Any party that would stimulate or even help an industrial conflict for the purpose of making political capital is unfit to be trusted with the confidence of the people, and is sure to be so regarded.

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### Fairness to the Administration

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Does it seem natural that the same administration which has acted so creditably toward Cuba, and whose conduct of affairs in China has been both dignified and efficient, should act from selfish and unworthy motives in the Philippines? Because the results are so disastrous, are we not likely to be too harsh in our judgment? Ought we not rather to give the administration credit for honesty of purpose, in view of other fair dealing, even if we cannot agree with its policy?

E. C.

*Answer.* There is no reason for doubting the sincerity or integrity of the administration's purpose towards the Philippines, any more than towards Cuba. The only question for public consideration is the wisdom of the policy being pursued. Whether we approve or not, the Philippines have been taken. It was done with the approval of congress, with the aid of Mr. Bryan and a portion of his party, without which it would have been impossible. Assuming that Mr.

Bryan would be as honest and liberal as the administration, there would be little difference between them. The policy of the administration is manifestly first to establish order and give a stable government with the maximum educational and industrial opportunities. If Mr. Bryan and his party can be taken at their word, as expressed in the Kansas City platform, this is the most that he or they could do. Stable government under liberal representative institutions means government whose authority, central, provincial and local, will be recognized, respected and sustained by the people, and under which peace, order and freedom, with safety to property and person, will be uniformly established. Nothing short of this can be regarded as stable government on an approximately democratic basis. This cannot be established by presidential proclamation, as some of Mr. Bryan's remarks seem to imply, but it may take years, decades or even generations. There is no reason to suppose that the Filipinos will make more progress towards free institutions than other people. Capacity for self-government cannot be given like an old hat,—it must be developed as a part of the character of the people, growing out of the conditions of the country. Whether we agree with taking the Philippines or not, it is obvious that liberal and efficient treatment of the subject may more confidently be expected from the administration, which already has had experience in the matter, than from Mr. Bryan who admittedly would pursue the same policy but with no experience at all. On this point at least, to substitute Bryan for McKinley would be exchanging known integrity, efficiency and experience for doubtful efficiency and entire lack of experience.

## BOOK REVIEWS

GROWTH OF NATIONALITY IN THE UNITED STATES. A Social Study. By John Bascom. Cloth, 209 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

As stated in the preface, this little volume is practically a series of lectures on the constitution of the United States, delivered by Professor Bascom in the class-room. It is chiefly an outline description of the political evolution of the United States from a federation to a nation. In this respect it is an excellent book, at once brief, direct and clear. It says enough on every important phase of our national history to give the reader a comparatively clear grasp of the main facts, and is well calculated to whet his appetite for further reading, which after all is the chief merit of almost any book not aiming to be an exhaustive treatise.

The grouping of the subjects treated is excellent. It brings together the striking events of a given period bearing on any specific tendency; as, for instance, the first chapter is devoted to the supreme court, its history and development and great decisions; the next is devoted to the strife between the states and the United States. The struggle between the groups of states for control is another topic which deals with the events leading up to and culminating in the civil war. Then a very interesting account follows of the period of reconstruction, and a chapter is devoted to the strife between classes, dealing with present-day political-industrial questions. In all this Professor Bascom does his descriptive work well. It is an intelligent analysis of each period, noting with patriotic insight and scholarly touch the chief causes which led to each great movement.



The spirit of freedom and progress is freely breathed in every chapter, hence the author clearly shows his sympathy with the anti-slavery movement and the full recognition of human rights. The criticisms of the period of reconstruction, however, are not of the character that indicate profound political philosophy. The mind of the writer is evidently of the English "liberal" type, which is in economics *laissez faire*, free trade, and in politics the maximum freedom. Thus, when dealing with questions of reform or progress that call for the breaking down of restrictions, he is very much like John Morley or John Bright, a radical reformer, but when dealing with conditions that need constructive statesmanship he is not much more than a negative fault-finder. This, unfortunately, appears to be the influence that abstract free-trade thinking has on the mind.

In all matters of the freedom of the press and equal rights, protection to religious opinion, extension of the suffrage, or abolition of slavery, the liberals of the Bright and Morley school were and are heroic reformers, champions of progress and human rights, but the instant they are called upon to deal with situations that require constructive statesmanship or positive helpful policy they become negative, helpless fault-finders, and not infrequently hindrances. Professor Bascom is manifestly of this school. When he is dealing with the period where negative action (that is, action in favor of the removal of restrictions) he appears clear, positive and progressive, but when he deals with problems requiring a constructive policy he drops into the objecting critic.

After discoursing upon the deterioration of American politics, which he attributes to the "predominant commercial temper," he indulges very naturally in the comparison of English political movements of the re-

form-bill and anti-corn law era with our own, to our disadvantage (page 207):

"All the various forms of faith have been conceded political rights. Representation in the House of Commons, which had fallen into the control of the country gentry, was corrected by the Reform Bill of 1832. Great industrial centres gained representation, and thinly occupied or deserted rural districts lost it. By the act of 1835, the charters of the cities of England—with the exception of London—were restored to a uniform and reasonable basis in the rights enjoyed and privileges conferred. The abuses of centuries were swept away. Then came the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, under the lead of such men as Cobden and Bright, a repeal made possible by the unyielding demand of manufacturing interests, and by the new gospel of political economy which had been shaped in harmony with them. How different the conditions of this controversy of protection in the United States. With us the commercial interest has been the aggressive one, while the agricultural interest, feeble and scattered, has been able to oppose no adequate resistance. When England was breaking down privilege, we were establishing it. When she was overthrowing a ruling class, we were building one up."

This clearly indicates the character of our author's thinking, and his inability to see important facts beyond the range of his theory. He speaks of the rise of populism as a wholesome "revolt of the agricultural and working classes against the commercial class," but he thinks they "went off on a false scent." If they had only "based their claims on free trade" they might have wrought a wholesome revolution. A student and scholar who is unable to see any of the constructive expanding elements in our nation's growth under the influence of a progressive policy is incapable of a

wholly fair review of American political and industrial development. No one will claim that the protective policy, especially in the sense of import duties, has been applied with scientific precision or always with fairness, but the student who is unable to recognize in the protective principle anything but oppression is a doctrinaire and not a philosopher, he is a cynic and not a historian. In short, he is capable of seeing the virtue only of the negative side of political philosophy and public policy.

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FRIENDLY VISITING AMONG THE POOR. By Mary E. Richmond. Cloth, 225 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This little book reveals the author as a person of broad sympathies, governed by intelligence and sense. The object of the book is to offer suggestions of how to help the poor, but suggestions of how *not* to help occupy a prominent place. Indeed, the whole trend of the book is a vigorous protest against the well-meaning but sentimental and ill-advised charity which pauperizes instead of betters the condition of the destitute. The real object of all charitable work should be to cure poverty, not simply relieve it. This cannot be done by supplying free soup kitchens, day nurseries, etc., useful as they may be under certain conditions and when properly conducted, but by inquiring into the condition of each family applying for help, finding the causes of their distress, and seeking a remedy which will engender independence and self-help. Such a method takes into account two elements not always considered—personal character, and the man of the family.

The man of the family is seldom taken into account, being considered a hopeless case by the majority of workers among the poor. If a man neglects his



family, we cannot let the wife and children suffer, is the position they take, and so they go on providing food and clothes and caring for the children in institutions, that the mothers may go out to work, all of which encourages the husband and father further to neglect his family. The author's idea is not to make life too easy for these men, but endeavor to fit them for some kind of work, and then help them to find and keep the work for which they are fitted. In many cases it is necessary to refuse to assist the family in order to make the men work, for it is lamentably true that there is a large class of men who will not work so long as they know outsiders will not let the family suffer. If the same energy were expended in obtaining work for the husbands, which is spent in securing washing and scrubbing for the wives, there would be a decided improvement in the homes of the poor.

The author advises all who undertake charitable work to get into sympathetic relations with those they are helping, never forgetting their power to enjoy and their desire to satisfy the social instinct. The saloon will do this until some better place is provided.

The book is full of practical, common-sense suggestions for the direct dealing with poverty in the concrete, but does not venture into the broader field of the general social measures which might and should be taken to lessen the extent and dry up many of the sources of poverty; measures, for instance, such as shortening the hours of labor, sweatshop and tenement-house reform, restriction of immigration, national labor insurance, and general promotion of such industrial forces as make for higher wages and increased opportunities for employment.

THE INTERNATIONAL GEOGRAPHY. Edited by Hugh Robert Mill, D. Sc. Cloth, 8vo, 1,088 pp., \$3.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

This book, which is for library and reference purposes, is something new in the line of educational works. Seventy authors have contributed to its pages; the object being to furnish a true description of each different country by some experienced traveller, resident or native. In order to bring out the peculiarities and individuality of the different nations, the topography of the region is described and its action on the race and of the race on the nation, explained.

The translations were under the superintendence of the editor, and only such changes were made in the style and arrangement of matter as were necessary to secure uniformity in the final form of the work.

The authors were selected both from the professional and literary world,—men who are recognized authorities on the respective countries they discuss and describe. This, with a list of standard geographical books, given as reference, make the work one of great value, increased, moreover, by the intelligent condensation of so great a mass of information and the convenient form in which the whole is presented.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

##### POLITICAL

*The "Machine" Abolished.* By Charles C. P. Clark, M.D. Cloth, 196 pp., \$1.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. The subject-matter of this book is indicated by its sub-title—"The People Restored to Power by the Organization of all the People on the Lines of Party Organization."

*Edmund Burke's Speech on Conciliation with the American Colonies.* Delivered in the House of Commons, March 22, 1775. Edited with notes and a study

plan for high-school use. By William I. Crane, head of the department of English, Steele High School, Dayton, O. Boards, 40 cents; cloth, 50 cents. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

*Patriotic Eloquence.* Relating to the Spanish American War and its Issues. By Robert J. Fulton, Dean of the School of Oratory, Ohio Wesleyan University; and Thomas C. Trueblood, Professor of Elocution and Oratory in the University of Michigan. 12mo, 364 pp. \$1.00 net. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Containing over 100 notable speeches for and against the administration's foreign policy.

*Government in Switzerland.* Revised and enlarged edition. By John Martin Vincent, Assistant Professor of History in Johns Hopkins University. Cloth, 12mo, 370 pp. \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

#### HISTORICAL

*The Meaning of History and Other Historical Pieces.* By Frederick Harrison. Crown, 8vo, cloth, 482 pp. \$1.75. The Macmillan Company, New York. New and cheaper edition.

*With Both Armies in South Africa.* By Richard Harding Davis. 12mo. \$1.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. This work is enlivened with many illustrations from photographs.

*Paul Jones: Founder of the American Navy.* A History. By Augustus C. Buell. 2 vols., 12mo. \$3.00 net. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Fully illustrated with portraits, maps and plans.

#### ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL

*Social Justice; a Critical Essay.* By W. W. Willoughby, Associate Professor of Political Science in Johns Hopkins University; author of "An Examination of the Nature of the State." Cloth, 8vo. The Macmillan Company, New York.



## FROM OCTOBER MAGAZINES

“To the sufferings due to these causes were added other torments, when the weather was stormy. For then it was necessary to cover the hatches lest the waves that swept across the deck pour down and fill the ship. The slaves were confined in utter darkness, and the scant ventilation afforded by the hatchways was shut off. Serious as that was, still worse must be told. The negroes were made violently seasick more readily than white people even—they sometimes died in their convulsions. The heat and foul air quickly brought on more serious illness; but there the slaves were kept in their chains for days at a stretch, wholly unattended.”—JOHN R. SPEARS, in “The Slave-Trade in America;” *Scribner's*.

“For a social reformer Ruskin was not well equipped, either by nature or by education. He did not see that men must be led in freedom. He did not respect freedom. He did not see that character can be formed only by voluntary conformity with the Divine Laws of life. Repression and compulsion, while necessary, under existing conditions, for the maintenance of outward order, have no potency to reform human nature. He would enforce principles of right living, and the slowness of men to conform to such principles made him impatient. But a reformer needs vast patience. Impatience, anxiety, irritability and excitability are weaknesses which unfit a man to help his fellows; and, with all his genius and all his nobility of soul, Ruskin had these weaknesses in large measure.”---CHARLES H. MOORE, in “Ruskin as a Reformer;” *The Atlantic Monthly*.

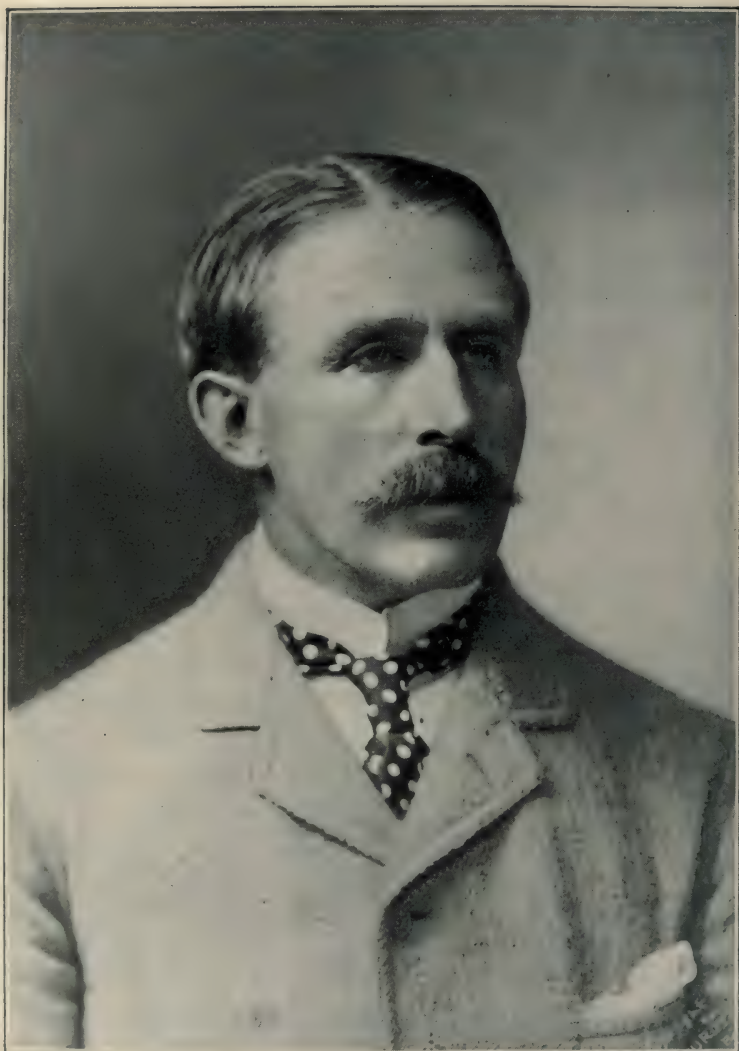
“The total result of the American influence exerted

over the school system of Puerto Rico has been wonderfully broadening and beneficial, however, and were we to withdraw from the island to-day it would certainly endure. Nearly 100,000 modern American textbooks in Spanish have disseminated information throughout the land. Teachers' examinations, conducted in writing and without the possibility of favoritism being shown, have set new standards of attainment before both teachers and pupils. The separation of the schools from the teachers' residences—though the schools still occupy rented buildings—has introduced a higher idea of school organization, and has tended to emphasize the school as a distinct institution. New ideas and ideals are beginning to germinate, and will in time bear fruit."—VICTOR S. CLARK, in "Education in Puerto Rico;" *The Forum*.

"Russia is still first and foremost an agricultural country. . . . But it is in her most fertile districts that the worst famines occur, for famine—a little one every year, a big one every seven years—has now become a regular occurrence. And the country, as one flies across it, leaves the general impression of indigence. In sharp and painful contrast with western Europe, there are virtually no fat stockyards, no cosy farmhouse, no chateau of the local landowner, no squire's hall—pitiful assemblages of men and women just on the hither side of the starvation line. And, from all one learns, disease is rife. Whole villages, I was told by men who knew them well, are poisoned by syphilis, and the authorities, gravely alarmed at this terrible state of things, have appointed, of late, several commissions of inquiry to devise remedial measures. Drunkenness, too, is a national vice, the peasant having his regular bout whenever he has saved up a small sum."—HENRY NORMAN, in "Russia of To-day;" *Scribner's*.







GENERAL LEONARD WOOD

*Military Governor of Cuba*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

### **The National Election**

The result of the election of November 6th, being thoroughly assured in advance, was accepted quite as a matter of course. The republican candidates received 292 electoral votes, the democratic 155. Four years ago the electoral vote was 271 for McKinley, 176 for Bryan. The division of the popular vote cannot yet be given, as the final count from several of the western states has not been authoritatively published.

While the election of McKinley and Roosevelt was expected, not even the republican party leaders really expected so overwhelming a victory. On the eve of the election, to be sure, the republican national committee gave out an estimate claiming the 294 electoral votes of 27 states, but the pre-election estimates of campaign committees are always understood to include the extreme limit of possible successes and are scarcely ever fully verified by the result. In this case the estimate was within two electoral votes of the actual, the difference being that Kentucky, which had been claimed for McKinley, was counted for Bryan, while Nebraska and Utah, which the republican committee did not claim, gave substantial McKinley pluralities. This deducted 13 votes from the republican estimate and added 11 thereto.

**Some Interesting  
Features of the  
Result**

For Mr. Bryan's own state to go against him is an incident of the election that really means something. In the national election of 1896, and every state election since held, Nebraska has endorsed democratic or democratic-populist fusion platforms and candidates by substantial majorities, but clearly the industrial experience of the last four years has finally convinced the Nebraska farmers of the fallacy of Bryanite economic and financial theories. The same holds true of Kansas and South Dakota, which in 1896 gave Mr. Bryan pluralities of 12,269 and 183 respectively, and in 1900 have voted by considerably larger pluralities the other way. Farther west, the growing indifference to Bryan was reinforced by a very positive sentiment in favor of "expansion," or, to be explicit, of retention of the Philippines. The direct interest of the far West in possible trade expansion in the Pacific showed itself in heavily increased republican pluralities in California and Oregon, the cutting down of Bryan's plurality in Colorado from 134,882 in 1896 to about 30,000 in 1900, and the transference of Washington, Utah, and Wyoming from the democratic to the republican column. In 1896 Washington gave Bryan a plurality of 14,493, Wyoming 583, and Utah 51,033. The last two states are conspicuously centers of silver-mining interests, and the revolution in Utah is especially remarkable. The total population of that state in 1896 was hardly more than 250,000, which would indicate that nearly the whole voting population must have supported Bryan in that year.

**How the Work-  
ingmen Voted**

Perhaps the most gratifying feature of the election is the evidence it affords that the majority at least of the intelligent workingmen of the country were not deceived as to the true nature of Mr. Bryan's appeals to class feeling.



They correctly estimated his vicious attempt to array the two great factors in the nation's industrial organization into hostile camps. They resented as an insult the implication that if they should vote to continue the present prosperity they would prove themselves more interested in their stomachs than in high principles of government. The majority were sane enough to know that there is no menace to the political liberties of the American people in any of the developments that have come out of the Spanish war, however regrettable many of those developments may be in themselves. The workingmen were possessed of sufficient facts in their own experience, furthermore, to know that so far from writhing under the iron heel of the "trusts" they have never been more prosperous than during the last few years of large corporate organization, whether in respect to wages, employment, or the power and independence of labor organizations. Even if the feeling of distrust and apprehension of the so-called "trust" movement was much more general than the returns would indicate, it is at least certain that a majority of the workingmen preferred the conservative policy of striking at the abuses of corporation methods and management rather than making indiscriminate warfare on the whole modern tendency of large industrial organization.

New York and Chicago, cities in which the workingmen's vote is specially important, are normally democratic, but Chicago gave the republican candidates a considerable plurality, and New York city reduced the usual Tammany plurality by nearly two-thirds. Still more significant is the overwhelming plurality of almost 300,000 in Pennsylvania, the most distinctively workshop state in the union. Among the coal-miners, the successful ending of their recent strike (which was declared off on October 25th in response to the 10 per

cent. increase in wages conceded by the companies) was an obvious disproof of Bryan's theory that capital is all-powerful; and all three of the counties where the strike occurred—Luzerne, Lackawanna and Schuylkill—gave heavy republican pluralities. Schuylkill, in 1898, went democratic by 1,800, and another coal-mining county, Carbon, has this year reversed its usual democratic plurality.

West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, states of very large wage-earning population, voted heavily against Bryanism, the first three by largely increased pluralities over those of 1896. In these sections the "trusts" and prosperity issues were the ones chiefly discussed during the campaign; the interest in "imperialism" being much less than in either the far East or West.

#### A New Lease of Prosperity

How intimately the business interests of the country were associated with the cause of sound money and a stable industrial policy was shown in the considerable checking of business activity for several weeks before the election, and more strongly by the pronounced revival since. The practice adopted during the campaign of 1896, of making contracts for new enterprises or orders for supplies conditional on the defeat of Bryan, was again extensively followed this year. In some places mills were obliged to shut down, temporarily, because of the suspension or conditional nature of orders. Immediately after the election, the certainty that there was to be no disturbance of the gold standard or wholesale attack on capital or renewal of "tariff tinkering" broke the chains of uncertainty and hesitation, and the country entered upon a new lease of prosperity.

In the flood of evidences of this industrial expansion since the election might be noted, almost at ran-

dom, the commencing of work by the Maryland Steel Company at Baltimore on new passenger and freight steamers to cost three million dollars; the projection of nearly ten million dollars' worth of new mills and additions to plants in Milwaukee; the closing of contracts with the great Pennsylvania and Alabama companies for very large quantities of iron and steel, and projection of several new iron and steel plants in Pennsylvania and Ohio; increases in force and plant in many important manufacturing industries in Connecticut; the placing of orders by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad for 9,000 pressed steel cars, and by the Pennsylvania Railroad for some 6,000 freight cars; the organization of an eleven-million dollar company to develop certain mineral resources in Missouri, involving the laying out of a new town; a general revival reported by the principal houses in the dry-goods and groceries trades in New York city; and, as reflecting the general spirit and attitude of the industrial world, an immense rush of business on the stock exchanges, with material advances in the value of industrial stocks. On November 9th, the Friday after election, the number of transactions on the New York stock exchange reached a total of 1,524,135, the largest during the present year. *Dun's Review*, commenting on the situation in its issue of November 17th, said:

"Sixty railroad stocks this week advanced to an average price of \$77.50 per share, the highest in eighteen years. The top point of September, 1899, was \$76.29 per share. Wall Street is moving, as is its custom, a little in advance of the rest of the country; but there is not one of the great industries in which contracts delayed until after election are not being closed daily, with confidence that in trade generally a great structure is to be built on the foundation laid in the last few years."

Foreign Opinions  
on the Election

Events of the last few years have done much to dispel the jingoistic assumption that foreign opinion is a matter of entire indifference to us, and foreign approval something to



call for suspicion and resentment. Modern nations are bound together by ties of common interest so numerous and powerful that the expression of opinion in one country on affairs in another is slowly coming to be a source of real influence.

The late political campaign in this country was fought on issues of such broad and commanding importance, involving international affairs both financial and territorial, that it is perfectly legitimate to be interested in the foreign views of the result. The press comment, especially in England and Germany, shows almost uniform satisfaction. In England, Lord Salisbury even went to the extent of breaking the customary silence of government officials on the domestic affairs of other nations, and, at the lord mayor's banquet, on November 9th, said :

"We believe that the cause which has won is the cause of civilization and commercial honor. We believe those principles to be at the root of all prosperity and all progress in the world. Therefore we claim that we have as much right to rejoice in what has taken place as the distinguished gentleman who sits at my side."

—referring to our ambassador, Mr. Choate.

No doubt, criticism on this expression will be lavish from everybody whose conception of national dignity, self-respect and independence, is that the United States ought to stand alone at the cross-roads of progress with a chip on its shoulder, rather than march abreast with Christendom in the promotion of world-wide civilization.

<b>Meaning of the Administration Triumph</b>	Two days after the election Mr. Bryan gave out a statement, hinting in the first place at bribery, colonization of voters, issuing of passes to absent republicans, etc., as important causes of his defeat, notwithstanding that the only notable attempts at fraudulent manipulation on a large
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scale were in New York city (happily prevented by the prompt action of Governor Roosevelt) and in Kentucky and the South generally, where elections confessedly reflect little more than the brute force of the dominant party.

Much more creditable is Mr. Bryan's frank admission that prosperity and the sentiment of "Stand by the president while the war is on" were potent influences in the republican victory; but to admit the weight of the prosperity argument at once raises an interesting question. Why did Mr. Bryan go about the country during the campaign, denying in some places that the prosperity existed at all, and before other audiences declaring that, if it did exist, to refer to it was a sordid appeal to the stomach. In conceding, after the election, that the prosperity was real and that it powerfully affected the result, Mr. Bryan says in effect that his representations during the campaign were false, and that in his judgment the American people voted by their stomachs and without reference to "head or heart."

But Mr. Bryan is not the man to look to for the explanation of his defeat, because in reality it was Bryan himself that made democratic victory impossible. This is the truth of the matter, and the administration itself ought to recognize it in shaping the policies of the next four years. The people clearly appreciated the fact of prosperity and the administration's share in promoting it, and were willing to hold the "trust" question in abeyance for the present, but there is no evidence that the country as a whole voted approval of our Philippine policy.

The real meaning of the election is that the people were determined once more to repel Bryanism and all that it signifies, and postpone the expression of their wishes as to the Philippines, perhaps to subsequent congressional campaigns. This is the obvious interpretation

to be drawn from the decreased republican majorities in the East, especially in New England and New York. It was in this section that the interest in the principles involved in an expansion policy was the keenest of anywhere and figured most largely in the result, except perhaps on the Pacific Coast, where the issue hinged largely on the obvious local advantage in "expansion." There is no popular satisfaction with our situation in the Philippines, nor with the policy of forcible annexation. On the contrary, the conviction is unquestionably growing that if we had followed the Cuban program in our dealings with the Filipinos we should have had no war there, and that only by directing our policies towards independence shall we be able to avoid practically continuous guerilla warfare in the archipelago.

**Conditions in the  
Philippines**

The discouraging situation in the islands to-day is confirming and stimulating this feeling. The Filipinos are not subdued and the end is nowhere in sight. The president's amnesty proclamation of June 21st had little effect, only about 5,000 Filipinos taking advantage of it. The peace proposals adopted by a gathering of Filipinos in Manila on the day of the amnesty proclamation have been equally void of results; the meeting did not represent the insurgents, and, in fact, Senor Buencamino, the leader of the friendly Filipinos, received from Aguinaldo a definite refusal to consider the proposals or enter into any compromise. According to official reports, in the two years and more from August 6th, 1898, to September 24th, 1900, our losses in killed and wounded in the Philippines amounted to 5,106 men. As late as the middle of September the insurgents were able to muster as large a body as 800 in a severe fight at the east end of Laguna de Bay, in Luzon, in which twenty-four of our men were killed and many wounded.



Again, on October 24th, in Ilocos province, Luzon, a small company of our men attacked 1,400 Filipinos, including 400 riflemen, and after an heroic struggle against these heavy odds, was forced to retire with a loss of five.

Nor is the rest of the archipelago pacified by any means. On September 11th Captain Shields with about fifty men left Santa Cruz, Marinduque, on the gunboat Vilalobos for another small port on that island, and while on the way the expedition was captured by the natives and carried into the interior, being rescued some three weeks later by a force of infantry sent from Manila.

**General  
MacArthur's  
Report**

General MacArthur's report of October 1st, on the Philippine situation, is anything but an encouraging document. The guerilla tactics adopted by the natives, he points out, have made it necessary for our troops to occupy some 413 separate posts throughout the islands as compared with 53 points occupied eleven months ago. This has immensely increased the difficulty of our work and made the end of it all a matter of the utmost uncertainty. General MacArthur declares that "at present and for many years to come the necessity of a large American military and naval force is too apparent to admit of discussion." The insurgent guerillas, he says, "are not soldiers in the true sense of the word, but it is a mistake to classify them as *Ladrones* or armed robbers. There is considerable evidence of record to the effect that the insurgent leaders have themselves suffered at the hands of the latter, who are outlaws, pure and simple."

Moreover, it appears from the general's report that the opposition to our authority is by no means confined to the Filipino soldiers in the field. A large majority

of the non-combatants are quietly aiding their fellow-countrymen in arms. He says:

"The success of this unique system of war depends upon almost complete unity of action of the entire native population. That such unity is a fact is too obvious to admit of discussion; how it is brought about and maintained is not so plain. Intimidation has undoubtedly accomplished much to this end, but fear as the only motive is hardly sufficient to account for the united and spontaneous action of several millions of people. One traitor in each town would eventually destroy such a complex organization. It is more probable that the adhesive principle comes from ethnological homogeneity, which induces men to respond for a time to the appeals of consanguineous leadership even when such action is opposed to their own interests and convictions of expediency. These remarks apply with equal force to the entire archipelago, excepting only that part of Mindanao occupied by Moros, and to the Jolo group."

Further on he explains that the insurgent resistance "could not exist for a month" without the support of the natives in the towns, and describes the guerillas as "a mere expression of the loyalty of the towns."

In the light of such a statement of the case, from our commanding military officer in the Philippines, it is useless to cherish any longer the delusion that the Philippines insurrection is confined to only one out of some eighty distinct tribes having no common sympathy or purpose, all the rest being glad of American occupation and willing to accept our rule. It is clear that we are opposing no mere Tagalog rebellion, but the genuine resistance of the Philippine people. That there is among them so great a multiplicity of tribes, languages, beliefs and customs makes this practical unanimity for independence all the more deeply significant.

**Our Policy  
and Prospects**

Such a state of affairs inevitably suggests the query, to what purpose are the efforts of the Taft commission to inaugurate civil rule in the islands? We need not question the

merit and admirable intent of the program which Judge Taft and his associates are striving to put into effect, but the outlook for practical results is exceedingly dubious. The president's instructions issued under date of April 7th, and made public on September 17th, are on a high plane as to purpose, eminently practical in suggestion, and would almost certainly succeed in application but for one missing and vital factor—the friendly disposition of the Philippine people themselves. Under these instructions, “that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature” was transferred from the military governor to the Taft commission on September 1st, as a step in the proposed substitution of civil for military authority. The instructions also cover at some length the problem of establishing municipal governments and provide:

“That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and, if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others.”

It is sought to guarantee the quality of local municipal officers by this provision:

“It will be necessary to fill some offices for the present with Americans, which, after a time, may well be filled by natives of the islands. As soon as practicable a system for ascertaining the merit and fitness of candidates for civil office should be put in force.”

On education the instructions provide that:

“It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve, the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community.”

As to the savage tribes that cannot be made to participate in any regular system of government, the commission is thus instructed:



"The commission should adopt the same course followed by congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government, and under which many of those tribes are now living in peace and contentment, surrounded by a civilization to which they are unable or unwilling to conform."

These are the main outlines of the policy we are attempting to follow. There is nothing at present to justify the expectation that they will lead to anything more practical than the carrying on of local governments under military compulsion;—a kind of bayonet civilization, hated by the natives, a perpetual tax on this nation both in soldiers and money, and offering a grim burlesque on self-government.

#### Cuba's

#### Constitutional Convention

What a contrast to this is offered in the progress of affairs in Cuba. There, for more than two years, peace and order have reigned, local governments have been taking shape, the cities have been cleaned both physically and governmentally, and the general administration of affairs has been raised to a plane of efficiency and honesty never remotely approached under the Spanish regime. The one serious blot on our occupation of Cuba, the postal frauds, will at least involve no loss to the Cuban people. The perpetrators of these frauds are now undergoing prosecution leading to severe punishment.

The constitutional convention now sitting in Havana for the purpose of framing a constitution for Cuba and deciding on the relation of the island to the United States, is the natural climax of this wholesome evolution. The delegates to this convention were chosen on September 22d, the registered voters numbering about 186,000 out of a total population of 1,600,000. It is not surprising that General Wood's advice to the Cubans to send only the best men to the convention was not followed to any remarkable degree. The Cubans are not yet sufficiently developed in self-re-

strait, intelligence and general civilization to make the best choices. Nor is it astonishing that, in this first public election in Cuban history, frauds were perpetrated in several provinces, forcing the problem of contested seats on the convention. Here in the United States, Kentucky, after more than a century of self-government, has just counted out certain national and state candidates by frauds which will be deliberately sustained by the legislature of the state if any contest is made.

The convention was opened by General Wood on November 5th and began its work by unanimously adopting the following resolution:

"The delegates elected to the constitutional convention, assembled at their inaugural meeting, greet with profound gratitude and affection the president of the United States of North America, and they are satisfied with the honesty demonstrated in the fulfillment of the declarations made in favor of liberty and independence of the Cuban people."

If the same admirable spirit that characterizes this resolution guides the deliberations of the convention, its success is assured in advance. Such a declaration is the best possible proof of the wisdom and good faith of our policy towards Cuba.

Of the two parties, national and republican, represented in the convention, the nationalists are supposed to favor complete independence, while whatever annexation sentiment exists is found among the republicans. Thus far, unfortunately, the convention has been mostly given over to disputes over the election of delegates and nothing has been done towards framing a constitution. It is reported that sentiment in favor of annexation is growing, especially in view of the incompetent management of municipal affairs throughout the islands so far as they have been entrusted to local officials. However discouraging some of these experiences may have been, there is no other way for

Cuba to learn self-government than by actually assuming its responsibilities. It is to be hoped that our officials in the islands will do nothing to encourage annexation sentiment. The Cuban people, though handicapped by inexperience, may be able to carry on an independent government, but they are not yet fit to be embodied in the political system of the United States.

**The Chinese  
Problem**

The Chinese peace commissioners, Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching, submitted to the foreign ministers, about the middle of October, peace propositions based on a pledge to turn over the Boxer leaders and their accomplices to the Chinese courts for punishment according to Chinese law, accepting the claims for indemnity for the destroyed legations, and offering to negotiate new trade treaties with the powers. About a week or ten days later they further proposed to make the indemnity £40,000,000, payable in sixty installments, the amount to be raised by doubling the import duties. This is a characteristic Chinese proposition,—to square accounts by paying the powers an indemnity and get it back in the shape of duties on goods imported by these same nations into China! No action has been taken on any of the proposals, and the beginning of negotiations has been long delayed by the dispute as to punishment of the Boxer leaders. It is now reported, through Minister Wu Ting Fang, that by an imperial decree of November 13th Princes Tuan and Chwang, the former the chief offender whose punishment is demanded, have been deprived of their ranks and ordered imprisoned for life, and several other princes degraded and imprisoned. Being Chinese news, nobody knows whether this is genuine or not.

All the powers, including the United States, have



now assented either in whole or in part to the Anglo-German propositions of October 16th for maintaining the "open door" in China and independence of the empire. This agreement, therefore, now represents practically the consensus of Christendom, and its terms have since been emphasized explicitly by Premier Salisbury at the lord mayor's banquet on November 9th, and Chancellor Von Buelow in the reichstag on November 19th.

The agreement, however, covers only general lines of policy. The specific terms of a preliminary peace treaty are apparently to be arranged with the Chinese by the foreign envoys in Peking, direct. Dr. Morrison, correspondent of the *London Times*, reported on November 11th that all the ministers had finally agreed upon terms to be presented to China in a joint note; the substance of the demands being, that China shall erect a monument to Baron von Ketteler on the site where he was murdered, inflict the death penalty upon eleven Chinese princes implicated in the Boxer movement, suspend provincial examinations for five years in the districts where the outrages occurred, dismiss and punish any officials who in the future shall fail to prevent outrages against foreigners in their districts, pay indemnity for the losses suffered by states, corporations and individuals, abolish the Tsung-li-Yamen and create in its place a new office of foreign minister, permit "rational intercourse . . . with the emperor as in civilized countries," destroy the forts at Taku and other forts on the coast of Chi-Li province, prohibit the importation of war materials, and post imperial proclamations throughout the empire for two years, suppressing the Boxers; while the powers will maintain permanent guards for the legations in Peking and military posts at various points between Peking and the sea.

These proposals are submitted, not as conditions of beginning negotiations but as the basis of a treaty, and therefore the demand for execution of the Boxer leaders, responsible for the intolerable outrages against foreigners last summer, is entirely proper. Some of the other demands will undoubtedly be modified if not dropped entirely, as of minor importance or else impossible to enforce. For example, the only effect of the proposed prohibition of importation of war materials would be to stimulate wholesale smuggling and develop the manufacture of arms and ammunition within China. The keeping of a legation guard in Peking will probably be necessary, at least for a long time to come, but to destroy the forts is practically to make China helpless against whatever foe on whatever errand bent. It would impose upon Christendom the moral obligation at least to protect China from predatory attacks which it had thus been deprived of the power to resist. If the powers honestly want China to remain an independent nation, they must permit the Chinese government to exercise at least the primary and essential functions of sovereignty, among which self-defence is first. Moreover, if ever again it should become necessary for Christendom to enter China, these forts which might prove useful as against petty foes could no more stop the allied modern powers than they did last June when a few hours' bombardment forced their surrender.

## SOME OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF RAILWAY PROSPERITY

H. T. NEWCOMB, CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF AGRICULTURE,  
TWELFTH CENSUS

The American people had abundant opportunity, during the lean years that began with 1893, to acquire information concerning the results and concomitants of depression in the railway industry. The reduction of the number of railway employees from 873,602 on June 30, 1893, to 779,608 twelve months later, though it must have deprived nearly half a million persons of their ordinary means of livelihood, was not the most serious though it was one of the most readily observable results of the depression. The number of persons thrown out of employment by the cessation of orders for rails, ties, locomotives, cars and the thousand and one items of normal railway consumption will never accurately be known.

Another phase of the subject was formerly discussed by the present writer in an article written during the last period of depression.\*

A sentence or two from that article will recall conditions that are happily over, at least for the present:—

“The expenses due directly to handling traffic and moving trains are much less elastic than those incurred for keeping up the quality of

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\* “Are American Railway Rates Too High?” *Engineering Magazine*, January, 1896.



track, rolling stock and signalling apparatus; and when depleted revenues enforce upon railway managers the necessity of immediate retrenchment the latter are most likely to suffer. Thus when, during 1894, reduced traffic, low rates and dwindling earnings required a reduction of 93,994 or nearly 11 per cent. in the number of men employed by the railways, nearly one-third of the entire number was taken from trackmen, their number being reduced 16 2-3 per cent. The decrease in the number of the employees assigned to maintenance of equipment was 13 1-3 per cent; while in those assigned to the work of conducting transportation it was only 8 per cent. During the same year the expenses of operation were reduced 11 2-3 per cent as compared with the previous year. Of the total decrease of \$96,506,977, 51 per cent. was taken from the expenditures incident to the maintenance of way, structures and equipment, though these combined ordinarily constitute only about 37 per cent. of the total expense of operation."

The data cited in the foregoing extract indicate that among the effects of the depression of 1894 was a strong tendency toward impairment of the quality of the services rendered by railway facilities through the failure to make the repairs and replacements necessary to compensate for ordinary deterioration of roadway, structures and equipment. The latest official statistics relate to the year ended June 30, 1899, and are recent enough to express the consequences of the conditions that have characterized the last two years. These data show that greater prosperity has been accompanied by a movement in the opposite direction from that formerly noted. Railway earnings per mile of line averaged \$7,005 in 1899, and but \$6,109 in 1894. The increase was accompanied by an increase in the number of employees of 149,316, of whom 100,567 persons or 67 per cent. were assigned to work connected with the maintenance of way, structures and equipment. The increased security to the persons and property of the traveling and shipping public may be inferred from the following statement which shows the numbers of employees and the number in each 1,000 assigned to the different branches of railway service on June 30 of the years 1894 and 1899 respectively.

ITEM.	1894.		JUNE 30		1899.	
	Number.	Per 1000.	Number.	Per 1000.	Number.	Per 1000.
General administration . . . . .	31,749	41	34,170	37		
Maintenance of way and structures	215,371	276	287,163	309		
Maintenance of equipment . . . .	151,974	195	180,749	195		
Conducting transportation . . . .	365,892	469	417,508	449		
Unclassified . . . . .	14,622	19	9,334	10		
Total . . . . .	779,608	1000	928,924	1000		

The number of trackmen (other than section foremen) per mile of line reported in 1894 was 85, and in 1899, 107.

An examination of the statistics of operating expenses for 1895 and 1899 will show similar results. The following table shows the amounts expended for each of the purposes indicated and the percentage of each item to the total expenditure for the year.

ITEM.	YEAR ENDED JUNE 30			
	1895.		1899.	
	Amount.	Per cent. of total.	Amount.	Per cent. of total.
General expenses . . . .	\$35,907,017	4.95	\$38,676,883	4.51
Maintenance of way and structures . . . . .	143,976,344	19.84	180,410,806	21.05
Maintenance of equipm't	113,788,709	15.68	150,919,249	17.62
Conducting transportat'n	431,148,963	59.41	485,159,607	56.73
Unclassified . . . . .	899,382	.12	802,454	.09
Total . . . . .	\$725,720,415	100.00	\$856,968,999	100.00

The foregoing shows conclusively that a renewal of prosperity has resulted in greater attention to the physical condition of railway property; expenditures for the maintenance of the property having risen from 35.52 per cent. of the total in 1895 to 38.67 per cent. in 1899. More than 56 per cent. of the total increase in operating

expenditures appears to have been devoted to the repair and renewal of roadway, buildings, rolling-stock and other equipments, although these expenses usually constitute much less than two-fifths of the total. It must again be observed that the statistics given only illustrate the beginnings of the consequences of renewed prosperity in the railway industry.

So much for the consequences of railway prosperity as expressed by the number of men employed in their administration and operation in the different branches of these services, and the expenditures for operation. It is now desirable to consider some results that, though less direct, are still connected with the condition of the railway industry by unmistakable ties.

In a progressive country such as the United States a certain amount of railway construction is necessary from year to year in order to keep the facilities for transportation abreast of other industries. That this normal amount has been exceeded in times of speculative excitement is probably true, but it is equally certain that greater regularity in the mileage annually added to the railway system would be highly beneficial. Assuming that the average cost per mile of new railways with the necessary equipment is \$25,000, and that not less than \$20,000\* of this amount represents labor employed at an average rate of \$2.00 per diem, the following table represents some of the facts of railway construction during the last thirteen years:

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\* This estimate includes indirect payments for labor, *i. e.*, those to miners, car-builders, etc., etc., as well as direct payments, and is clearly below reality.



Years ended December 31.	Number of miles built.	Cost estimated at \$25,000 per mile.	Number of men em- ployed one year (of 300 working days) es- timated at 10,000 days' work per mile.
1887. . . . .	12,983	\$324,575,000	432,766
1888. . . . .	7,106	177,650,000	236,867
1889. . . . .	5,230	130,750,000	174,333
1890. . . . .	5,670	141,750,000	189,000
1891. . . . .	4,281	107,025,000	142,700
1892. . . . .	4,192	104,800,000	139,733
1893. . . . .	2,635	65,875,000	87,833
1894. . . . .	1,949	48,725,000	64,967
1895. . . . .	1,803	45,075,000	60,100
1896. . . . .	1,848	46,200,000	61,600
1897. . . . .	1,880	47,000,000	62,670
1898. . . . .	3,083	77,075,000	102,767
1899* . . . .	4,500	112,500,000	150,000
Total . .	57,160	\$1,429,000,000	1,905,333

That a serious disturbance of the labor market must result from such violent fluctuations in the number of men employed as are indicated by the foregoing table is beyond dispute. It is not at all unreasonable to suppose that they might in themselves constitute the immediate cause of serious commercial upheaval.

Some further suggestions concerning the extent in which the railways furnish a market for labor and for commodities may be gained from the reports of the statistician to the interstate commerce commission. The data also indicate, by comparison between a year of depression and one of relative prosperity, the modifications in the demand so created that result from each of these conditions. They will also show the diversity of the demands which the railways make upon the other industries.

\* From the *Railway Age* of December 29, 1899.

Repairs and Renewals of	Years ended June 30,		Per cent. of increase, 1899 over 1895.*
	1895.	1899.	
Roadway . . . . .	\$69,106,141	\$87,307,140	26.34
Rails . . . . .	10,124,633	10,767,381	6.35
Ties . . . . .	19,900,837	23,623,325	18.71
Bridges and culverts . . . .	15,312,954	19,335,860	26.27
Fences, road crossings, signs and cattle guards . . . .	3,508,856	3,968,408	13.10
Buildings and fixtures . . .	11,127,444	17,762,120	59.62
Docks and wharves . . . .	1,590,635	2,070,098	30.14
Telegraph . . . . .	906,348	1,153,408	27.26
Locomotives . . . . .	38,218,439	50,555,264	32.22
Passenger cars . . . . .	14,927,860	17,623,134	18.06
Freight cars . . . . .	40,561,700	57,320,521	41.32
Work cars . . . . .	818,899	1,708,416	120.84
Marine equipment . . . . .	1,131,337	2,012,478	77.88
Shop machinery and tools . .	3,070,953	4,167,798	35.72
Total . . . . .	\$230,307,036	\$299,375,351	29.99
Per cent. of classified expenditures . . . . .	34.11	36.76	. .

The foregoing expenditures include both direct payments for wages to employees engaged in making the specific kinds of repairs and renewals enumerated, and also payments to outside individuals, firms and corporations for commodities supplied for the same purposes. It is not possible from the data given definitely to determine the proportions of these different elements though the items themselves indicate them to some extent. The railways also expended \$70,271,745 in 1895 and \$77,187,344 in 1899 for fuel for locomotives. The total amounts paid in direct wages were \$445,508,-261 in 1895 and \$522,967,896 in 1899, the increase amounting to 17.39 per cent.

Only fragmentary statistics concerning the demand for labor and commodities by the railways during the last eighteen months are as yet available. The following explanation of an increase during a single month of

\*The increase in railway mileage from 1895 to 1899 was only 4.78 per cent.

half a million dollars in the operating expenses of a western railway indicates the relation of these expenditures to prosperity:

" . . . the bulk of this increase is accounted for by straightening of the line, reduction of grades, building of iron bridges and changes of equipment. Smaller cars are being broken up in considerable numbers each month and the same is true of locomotives, the condemned rolling stock being steadily superseded by better. The policy is not a new one. The St. Paul has been following it systematically for at least four years. According to these officials *the policy was only discontinued at times when the receipts fell so low that it was necessary to reduce dividends, or, in one case, to discontinue them in part.*"\*

An extract from a statement concerning the improvements in progress on the Great Northern railway during the fall of 1899 will indicate the wide distribution of these expenditures among different industries, and will also suggest the effect they must have in promoting the prosperity of local communities throughout the regions in which they are applied. The chief engineer of that company enumerated the following improvements then in progress in a statement published in September, 1899:

"At Minot and Williston, N. D., and Glasgow, Montana, new yards are being built to give 3,000 feet of room. New twenty-stall round houses are going up at all of the three places, each to cost \$25,000, and a new brick freight and passenger depot is being built at Glasgow that will cost \$12,000. The entire Montana division of the line, extending from Minot to Blackfoot, is being ballasted, which gives employment to 800 men, six steam shovels and thirty engines and work trains. On this line thirty new steel bridges are being built and two hundred others are being filled and fitted with stone culverts. The work this year alone has resulted in the reballasting of 350 to 400 miles of the track, besides the general widening of the grade and cutting out sags, etc. On the line from Blackfoot to Havre, 150 miles long, thirty miles of new road-

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\* *Railway World*, December 12, 1899.



bed is being built to lighten the grade. In that vicinity the contract has been let for the construction of two of the largest railroad bridges in America. One of them is 125 feet high and 1,800 feet long, and the other, which will be the highest wooden bridge on the continent and probably in the world, will be 214 feet high and has a total length of 1,000 feet. The latter is to be at Two Medicine. These bridges will require 2,300 tons of steel and will cost from \$180,000 to \$200,000. Along this same road two short stretches of eight or nine miles are being made to cut out the curves. The line from Havre to Great Falls is being entirely rebuilt for a distance of twenty-four miles, following the Missouri river, to lighten the grade. This will include two new large steel bridges. From 700 to 800 men are now being employed in this work. The company is also spending from \$75,000 to \$100,000 on the Minneapolis depot, enlarging the general rooms, erecting new baggage rooms, erecting elevators, etc. In Washington \$500,000 is being spent in improvements at the Columbia river bluffs in order to dispense with a number of bridges and to eliminate several curves. The road from Monroe to Lowell, in Snohomish county, has been improved to the extent of \$600,000 in work during the last few months, and in riprapping down the west side of the switchback \$190,000 has been expended during the last year or year and a half for the purpose of avoiding damage by high water. The Cascade tunnel is finished a distance of 7,000 feet out of 13,000 feet required before the work is complete, and from 500 to 600 men are working day and night. This tunnel should be completed in October, 1900. Its total length will be two and one half miles."\*

The foregoing is merely a sample of statements that could be collected for nearly all of the great railways and many of the minor ones. Every industry which can supply anything to railway companies has felt the effects of this activity during the last two years, and probably there is no region of considerable size, traversed by one or more railway lines, that has not received a greater or smaller share of the prosperity created by these disbursements for labor and products.

One of the vice-presidents of the American Car and Foundry company reported during December, 1899, that this company had taken orders from American railways during one week for \$23,000,000 worth of cars, and, during the month of February, 1900, it was reported that the orders given to all car build-

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\* *Railway World*, September 9, 1899.

ers in this country during a single week had aggregated 17,000 cars. The Schoen Pressed Steel Car Company has recently been officially reported as having orders on its books for nearly \$20,000,000 worth of cars to be delivered within six months. The latter is said to have made a contract for ten years supply of steel plates to be used in connection with the construction of its cars, which calls for the delivery of 30,000 tons each month, the total amount represented by the contract being not less than six billion dollars. On February 17, 1900, the *Railway World* said:

"As an illustration of the importance of these orders for new rolling stock, it is only necessary to state that on the low estimate of \$700 for each car the orders given out in the past ten days will amount to \$11,900,000. During the same period orders for over 120 new locomotives were given out and, as the modern locomotives cost about \$8,000, it is seen that the sum of \$960,000 can be added to the total amount represented in the orders for motive power and equipment in ten days, making the amount \$12,860,000, almost \$13,000,000."

The number of freight cars built in the United States during each of the calendar years named was as follows:\*

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1890 . . . . .	103,000	1895 . . . . .	38,000
1891 . . . . .	95,000	1896 . . . . .	52,000
1892 . . . . .	95,000	1897 . . . . .	45,000
1893 . . . . .	52,000	1898 . . . . .	132,425
1894 . . . . .	18,000	1899 . . . . .	157,695

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At the average value suggested by the foregoing extract from the *Railway World*, the cars constructed in 1899 must have cost more than \$80,000,000 while those built in 1894, the year of extreme depression, were worth only \$12,600,000. These figures indicate that the indirect consequences of railway depression involve wider variations in the demand for labor in

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\* These data were compiled by Mr. Duane Doty of the Pullman Company.

collateral industries than are caused in the direct demand for labor in the railway industry.

The *American Manufacturer* is authority for the statement that 1,500,000 tons of steel rails at \$33 per ton were ordered at practically the same time during 1899, thus calling for about one-sixth of the total probable output of steel. The amount of such an order would be nearly \$50,000,000, all representing not more than one year's expenditures.

There would be little utility in this review of the industrial relations through which railway prosperity affects other lines of business if there were no way of gathering from past and present conditions some suggestions as to a means of perpetuating a cause, the effects of which are so widespread and so desirable. It is first to be observed that the prosperity which has attended railway operations during the last year or two does not rest upon higher charges than were collected during the years of depression. The average rates per passenger and per ton of freight per mile carried during each year from 1892 to 1899, the latest year for which complete data are available, were as follows:

Year ended June 30.	Average Rates per Mile in Cents.	
	Per Passenger.	Per Ton of Freight.
1892 . . . .	2.126	0.898
1893 . . . .	2.108	.878
1894 . . . .	1.986	.860
1895 . . . .	2.040	.839
1896 . . . .	2.019	.806
1897 . . . .	2.022	.798
1898 . . . .	1.973	.753
1899 . . . .	1.925	.724

All indications point to still lower averages for the year 1900. No one can examine the foregoing without appreciating, in some degree at least, the extreme sen-



sitiveness of the railway situation. At the average freight rate received during 1899, according to the foregoing statement, the railways had to perform transportation services equal to moving more than 400,000,000 tons of freight one mile in order to obtain revenue sufficient to meet the cost of oiling the wheels of their locomotives during the year, yet in seven years the average freight rate has declined over 19 per cent and the end is by no means in sight. The difference between the revenue received in 1899 and that which would have been collected at the rates of 1892 would have paid all the railway dividends distributed in the later year and met all of the taxes levied upon them by the various state and municipal governments whose jurisdictions they traverse. On the other hand, had the freight traffic of 1899 been so low as that of 1894, the railways at the rates of 1899 would have earned less than they did by more than three millions of dollars. Such a deduction from earnings would obviously have thrown a very large portion of the railway system into insolvency.

Nothing is more certain than that traffic cannot permanently continue as abundant as it was during 1899 and the second half of 1898. The minimum of 1894 will probably never be reached but the reduction of 14 per cent from 1893 to 1894 probably suggests what is possible in that direction without fixing a limit. The railways have generally made strenuous efforts to provide for handling traffic at low rates, and have probably reduced the average cost per passenger and per ton per mile below that of a few years ago, but most if not all of this advantage has already accrued to passengers and shippers in the form of reduced rates, and the low cost is also largely dependent upon a large volume of traffic.

From these facts the conclusion is inevitable that as the volume of traffic is not likely to advance and may even decline it is undesirable that rates should be re-

duced below those now in force.\* To insure this stability there is as yet no method that can take the place of that evolved by the railways themselves and unfortunately rendered illegal by the anti-pooling clause of the interstate commerce law. Neither railway managers nor the public must delude themselves with the belief that the comparative stability of rates achieved during 1899 can be duplicated during a year of meager traffic in the absence of greater identity of railway interests than has yet been secured. Some of the danger spots of previous years may have been removed but it requires no prophet to declare that others will develop whenever traffic becomes scanty. Therefore, the whole industrial fabric which rests upon railway prosperity or may be affected injuriously by railway losses waits, as it waited in 1892, for the enactment of legislation that will legalize the contracts for the division of railway traffic. Such legislation has received the approval of every informed and intelligent student of transportation, and has been endorsed by a majority of the interstate commerce commission.

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\*No account is here taken of the increased expenses due to the rise in the prices of the things purchased by the railways. It is assumed that the propriety of modifications in rates necessary to meet these higher expenses will not be disputed and that the idea of equivalence in rates relates itself to the fact of equality in the power of the amount received to meet the requirements of the operating budgets.

## INTEGRITY OF NEWSPAPER DISCUSSION

There is no one modern force that contributes so much to the making of public opinion and the shaping of national policy as the press. It is therefore a matter of great public concern that it be faithful in its presentation of facts and honest in its discussion of their bearing on public welfare. It is not that papers should not be partisan political organs. A paper may be thoroughly devoted to the interests of a party, and yet be able, honest and fair in the treatment of public questions. As organs of political parties they represent political doctrines and specific points of view as to the conduct of public policy. This is sure to involve radical differences of opinion regarding issues of public interest, the discussion of which is a contribution to popular education. It brings out different points of view, the advantages and disadvantages of different policies, and is necessary to a wide public intelligence. There is a notion abroad that the partisan journal is necessarily untrustworthy. This does not follow, nor is non-partisanship synonymous with moral superiority. Some of the worst cases of misrepresentation and perversion of facts are indulged in by the so-called non-partisan press.

There is a certain class of journals which appear to assume that a gauze covering of non-partisanship establishes their moral superiority and justifies them in adopting the doctrine that "the end justifies the means." To accomplish their purpose, from whatever motive, private enterprise as well as public men and measures of administration are subjected to unmeasured abuse and misrepresentation, of course all in the name of greater righteousness. By this means they probably



do fully as much to poison the mind of the masses with the industrial, social and political distrust which makes the Bryan and Debs type of agitators possible, as do the most flaming yellow journals. In their attacks upon industrial enterprise and public policy their very "non-partisan respectability" gives credence to their misrepresentation. Just as Mr. Cleveland's attack upon domestic industry for the sake of free-trade politics was the real precursor of populism and Bryanism, so the industrial and political misrepresentation of this class of papers serves a respectable backing to the reckless crusade against corporate enterprise and successful industry which threatens the economic and political stability of the nation.

Several illustrations of this appeared during the recent campaign. It would be difficult to find two more pretentious representatives of this type of journalism than the *Boston Herald* and the *New York Times*, yet it is doubtful if instances of worse misrepresentation of facts and more distorted discussion could be found in the pages of the most sensational sheets than appeared in these two papers during the last month of the campaign.

Take one case from each paper. On the 15th of October the *Boston Herald* published an article entitled "Killed by the Trusts," to which it gave a five-inch display heading, credited "From our special correspondent," dated at Kearney, Nebraska. This article, written with a strong editorial flavor indicating that the writer at least felt sure he was voicing the sentiments and purpose of his paper, purported to give an account of the havoc "trusts" had made with the industries of Kearney. It enumerated ten industries which had been killed in that city of 8,000 inhabitants by the trust octopus. The industries named were a cotton mill, a paper mill, a cracker factory, a plow factory, a cereal

mill, a foundry, a woollen mill, a packing house, electrical works and a bicycle factory. Manifestly, such a slaughter of industries in a city of 8,000 inhabitants must make the place an industrial waste, and justify public indignation.

It would be difficult to conceive a case in which an honest, respectable paper would not at least make some investigations before publishing such an extraordinary statement, especially when presented in the heat of a political campaign and manifestly for the promotion of party interests. But this kind of news being not distasteful to the anti-trust policy of the *Boston Herald*, it not merely printed it but gave it a glaring sensational five-inch heading and claimed exclusive credit for it as coming "From our special correspondent." Of course this statement, appearing in the *Boston Herald*, was caught up by other papers and generally accepted by those predisposed to print anything ill of the "trusts."

We have had occasion to investigate several such statements, with the usual result of finding them largely false. Just after the passage of the Wilson bill a statement was circulated by another typical "independent paper," the *Philadelphia Record*, in which it was said that 201 new factories in the cotton and woollen industries had been established as the result of that measure. This was widely quoted throughout the country, but when traced to its source by correspondence to obtain the names of the firms reported to have come into existence, it proved that out of the 201 so-called new factories there were only eight, and not one of these was entirely a new concern. The improbability of the Kearney story has led us to investigate it, by direct testimony from people living in Kearney. All agree as to the facts, giving details in each case, which show that not a single one of the ten cases presented in the *Boston Herald* was true. The whole story was a fabri-

cation of the most sensational sort, and was exposed and denounced by the local press.

I. To take the cases in the order named in the *Herald*: the first was a cotton mill "which bore promise of a rich maturity and filled with hope certain regions of the South which were looking for a closer market," but, alas, it was killed by the trusts! In the first place there is no cotton-mill trust; not even an attempted association or reorganization of the cotton manufacturing industry has taken place. Throughout the entire country, South, East and West, cotton manufacture is conducted by individual corporations. This cotton mill was established some eight years ago. It had some financial difficulties at first and was reorganized, but for the last six years it has been one of the steadily working industries of Kearney, having been idle only about one month in the year for lack of water. It is there now and in fair prosperity, and is owned entirely by citizens of Kearney.

II. The next was a paper mill of which the *Herald* says: "The machinery had not been installed before the paper trust secured possession, boarded up the doors and windows, and the building, now in a state of decay, stands as a monument to the power of the gigantic corporations of the country." The facts in this case are that this paper mill has been stopped for about nine years. It was a failure from the start, being organized to introduce a new method of making wrapping paper which proved unpractical. This mill failed about seven years before the so-called "paper trust" was heard of.

III. The next case was a cracker factory which, according to the *Herald* "was capable of using and did use the largest proportion of the flour made from the wheat raised in this district, furnishing a home market for the farmers which paid a price profitable to them at any season of the year at which they might wish to sell



their wheat. But the cracker trust secured possession, and this factory also stands as a bulwark of democratic opposition to trust control." It appears there was a cracker factory built in Kearney about twelve years ago but it operated only a little while and has been stopped now for eight years. Why it stopped we have not been able definitely to ascertain, but the owners sold it and the machinery was moved away. This might have been bought up by a large concern, but the so-called "cracker trust" was not in existence and therefore could not have been the cause.

IV. The next was a plow factory which, according to the *Herald*, employed from twenty to fifty hands. "For a time it flourished, its workmen contented and prosperous, but then the plow trust saw the nucleus of competition, and to-day it stands empty, its employees scattered, the building going to decay, another shaft marking the power of monopolies." This concern also died about twelve years ago. It appears to have been an effort subsidized by the town, undertaken without any capital, and failed before it got fairly under way. It was a mistaken boom effort and had no more relation to the plow trust than it had to the Boer war.

V. The fifth corpse was a cereal mill. All accounts agree that there never was a cereal mill in Kearney. There is an oatmeal mill, which belongs to an individual citizen of Kearney, and has no relation with any cereal mill or trust, and it works whenever there is grain to work up. It has been slack lately because of the failure of the oat crop in that vicinity, but it has not stopped, it is not a failure, has neither been harrassed nor gobbled up by the trusts. The whole statement regarding it is false.

VI. Next comes the victimized foundry. "A few rods from the cereal mill," says the *Herald*, "stands another obelisk marking the place where the trust

power of the country set its foot. This is the building of the Kearney Foundry Company, once a progressive, prosperous concern, which, in addition to making castings, manufactured locks on a large scale. The iron and lock trusts closed it down." Investigation develops the fact that the Kearney iron foundry was a creditable though struggling concern owned by citizens of Kearney, but a year ago the building and machinery were entirely destroyed by fire. It was doing a fairly good business but its owners lacked either the capital or the prospective inducements to rebuild. Moreover, the iron and lock trusts which the *Herald* says "closed it down" are inventions, since no such trusts exist.

VII. The seventh instance is the woollen mill which the *Herald* says employed 250 hands and was "closed down by the woollen trust." This case shows "the length to which liars will go" to accomplish their purposes. It is a matter of common knowledge in Kearney that this woollen mill was one of the numerous industries which it was attempted to establish about twelve years ago. It was a small frame building erected by subsidy in the effort to build up the town, but was never operated. The owner procured machinery but lacked capital to operate it and the concern was practically stillborn. The business never had the remotest relation to any trust. Indeed, every tyro knows that there has never been even an attempt to organize a woollen trust. Woollen manufacturers are no nearer trust combination than the peanut sellers.

VIII. The next instance is a packing-house, of which the *Herald* says: "The packing-house trust squeezed the life out of this industry and performed the same service for its proprietor, who, disheartened by his losses, became a raving maniac and was incarcerated in the asylum in which he shortly afterwards killed himself." This was indeed a sad case, but to be falsely

narrated in this manner is something worse than shameful, it is a crime against all that is decent. The testimony shows that the facts in this case are about like this: A man named Hecht, who was a successful butcher, established a packing-house. His whole property was destroyed by fire. After partially recovering from this blow, Mr. Hecht, like Alfred Dolge of New York, who was swindled out of millions and made penniless by overconfidence in a scoundrel, was the victim of a trusted rascal who accomplished his financial ruin. This succession of misfortunes drove Hecht insane and he committed suicide. In the face of these facts, which the writer, if in Kearney at all, must have known, the *Herald* brutally says he was "murdered by the trusts." In comparison with this the inventions of yellow journalism are respectable.

IX. The ninth is an electrical supply factory which, according to the *Herald*, "a once flourishing electrical supply works, shows by the vacant stare of its windows the folly of an attempt to combat the monster combinations." This was another instance of attempting to establish a business under a boom influence. It died at birth for sheer lack of business. There was no trust pressure against it. It was an enterprise mistakenly located.

X. The tenth and last case was a bicycle factory. "It was," the *Herald* says, "as flourishing an industry as exists in the state, engaged in the manufacture of bicycles. The bicycle trust closed it." It was not closed by a trust at all. All testimony agrees that it bid fair to be a prosperous manufacturing plant, but it moved to Denver for a larger and better market.

The question will naturally suggest itself to the reader, why should so many industries come and die in this little city in Nebraska? The fact is that Kearney, like many other western cities in the prosperous times



of 1891 and 1892, took on the boom spirit. The town offered inducements to manufacturers, such as exemption from taxes, erection of buildings, etc., to come and establish business there, all of which shows the creditable enterprising spirit of its citizens. But in the fall of 1892 Mr. Cleveland appeared and an industrial cyclone struck the country. Booms evaporated, established industries shrunk, confidence disappeared, and calamity everywhere prevailed. Under these conditions it was not at all unnatural that boom industries should be the first to collapse, and towns like Kearney would be conspicuous among the victims. A similar story could be told of many other towns, but the *Boston Herald* took this one, falsely attributed all the business failures of the last eight or ten years to trust conspiracy, and thus, instead of leading sound, intelligent public opinion, it contributed by the basest of methods to a false sentiment of class distrust and antagonism in a manner which Bryan himself could not excel. And, be it remembered, the *Boston Herald* is not classed as a yellow journal, but poses as one of the clean, intelligent papers of the country.

Another illustration of the so-called "independent" journal is the *New York Times*. This paper boasts that it gives "All the news that's fit to print" and occasionally assumes the function of lecturing the press of the country and especially public men for their partisan spirit and misrepresentation. On November 2d it was evidently laboring under one of these spells of virtue and published a leading editorial of more than a column entitled: "A Campaign Slander." The subject of this deliverance on political ethics was a report of the New York state superintendent of banks. According to the *Times*, Mr. Kilburn was "invited by the 'Non-Partisan Sound Money Industrial and Commercial League' to prepare a statement of the statistics of

savings-bank deposits as an index of national prosperity." In other words, Mr. Kilburn was asked for some campaign material in the form of official statistics. What the "Non-Partisan Sound Money Industrial and Commercial League" evidently wanted was the statistical evidence of prosperity only during the last four years. But Mr. Kilburn seemed not to take his cue correctly; he innocently assumed that if the "Non-Partisan Sound Money Industrial and Commercial League" wanted the effect of public policy upon prosperity it would be glad to have the facts covering the period of depression from 1892 to 1896 as well as that of the prosperity of 1897-1900. Here he was evidently mistaken. The *New York Times* represents the devoted followers of Mr. Cleveland and, in their eyes, to have the facts presented showing that calamity accompanied his political regime was a crime against all political honesty and fairness. It was "a campaign slander" and the *Times* fairly frothed at the mouth in its denunciation of Mr. Kilburn for daring to let the figures speak of the period from 1892 to 1896.

After heaping upon the head of Mr. Kilburn all the adjectives at its command, denouncing him as "a man devoid of conscience" in whose hands "figures will lie like troopers," who "makes his figures perjure themselves shamelessly," whose showing "is false and deceitful—intentionally so," and whose "statement reeks with partisan prejudice and has been deliberately made false and crooked in the wilful intent to deceive the voter," it solemnly says: "We will give an illustration of Mr. Kilburn's method. In speaking of the dependence of business prosperity upon stable conditions and favorable tariff rates, he says:

"The threat of change in the first Cleveland administration wrought evil, and its consummation in the second caused panic and then paralysis."

The *Times* then says: "Bryan himself has not reached so low a depth. Mr. Kilburn here declares that the Wilson tariff act of 1894 caused the panic of 1893. It is a fact well known to Mr. Kilburn that the panic, or currency famine, of 1893 was a silver panic."

The *Times* then launches into fulsome praise of Mr. Cleveland as the most far-seeing patriotic statesman in our history, quoting at great length from his message calling for an extra session to repeal the Sherman law, in which he charged the disaster to the purchase of silver, as if Cleveland's say-so settled it. This exhibition of vile abuse, of misrepresentation and political idolatry has few equals in the annals of yellow journalism. It is the more interesting, however, from the fact that it was pretentiously delivered as a rebuke to a partisan publication and in the interest of honest statement and wholesome opinion. Now that the campaign is over and the public has taken on its normal condition, it may be well in the interest of economic decency frankly to look at the facts in this case.

What was all this abuse of Mr. Kilburn for? Why, simply because he did not make a crooked partisan report but intimated correctly that the election of Mr. Cleveland caused the panic and subsequent depression from 1892 to 1896. In refutation of this statement the *Times* gives nothing but abusive adjectives, praise of Cleveland and quotations from his message, attributing the depression to the Sherman silver law. Fortunately for honest interpretation of this period, the facts are easy of access. Everybody knows, and the files of the New York *Times* at the time are replete with the evidence, that the calamity came, not with the purchase of silver, but with the election of Cleveland. The purchase of silver began in 1890, simultaneously with the McKinley tariff law. During 1891 and 1892 there were no signs of panic. On the contrary, they were the



high-water-mark years of prosperity, which up to that time had no equal in the nation's history. If the purchase of silver was the real cause, why did it not show some depressing effect during these years? When did the calamity begin? The morning after the election of Grover Cleveland. It was no sooner known that he was elected than business confidence was paralyzed. The issue of the campaign upon which he was elected was: "Down with the tariff." The attack on the tariff in that campaign was as sweeping and remorseless as was the attack on silver in 1896 and the attack on Bryan in 1900.

Nobody knew how much slaughter was to be expected and so all imagined the worst. The banks at once began to be afraid of the solvency of protected industries, and so curtailed their credits and called in their loans. New enterprises were stopped, contracts for machinery, buildings and other supplies were cancelled, everybody became afraid and struggled to retire for safety. The result was that in less than a week the newspapers teemed with the evidence of imminent commercial distress, and before Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated a panic had set in, and by June, 1893, we had the record of the greatest number of failures that had ever occurred in the same time, before or since. Moreover, as was frankly admitted by such journals as the *Journal of Commerce*, *Bradstreet's* and other commercial publications, there was never so much bankruptcy with so little insolvency; business was not inflated but simply paralyzed by the fear of what was coming in the form of anti-protection legislation. To say: "Mr. Kilburn here declares that the Wilson tariff act of 1894 caused the panic of 1893" places the New York *Times* on the level with the cheapest quibbler. Such a trick statement is false when used in anything like serious discussion. Of course the Wilson tariff of 1894 did not cause the

panic. What caused the panic was the election of Grover Cleveland with the certainty that he would inaugurate some destructive policy toward our industries. It was the anticipation, not the realization, of the Wilson tariff law that caused the panic.

When discussing Bryan, the *New York Times* could see that his election in 1896 and in 1900 would have precipitated a panic instantly, although it knew that he could not do anything for at least six months after he was elected. He would not be inaugurated until the fourth of March, and if he called a special session the next morning it would probably take a month or two before he could accomplish anything. Then why did the *Times* proclaim that his election would mean an immediate disruption of our financial institutions? Because the *Times* knew that the public, business men, and especially financiers, will act just as promptly (if not more so) on an anticipated policy as on an accomplished one. In fact, the *Times* knows and nobody better that the whole business, industrial and financial action of the community is mainly based on anticipation of the future. Let an alarm come forth of a disturbance in the banking centers of the world, and fright and perhaps panic is instantaneous. That is why the rumor of a war will often depress securities in the money markets throughout the world. In the face of such obvious facts, for the *New York Times* to deny, and especially in the interests of political integrity, that the panic of 1893 was caused by Mr. Cleveland's election in 1892 savors of an audacity that would do credit to Bryan or Croker. Of course it was not what Mr. Cleveland did, it was what it was feared he would do that ushered in the panic. The panic came ahead of him, but it came because it was known he was coming with disruption in his hands.

Again, if the Sherman silver law had really been

the cause of the panic, as already suggested, we might reasonably have expected to see some effects of it before 1893, and we might certainly have expected to see improvement after the Sherman law was repealed. But the facts are that the panic came in 1893, the Sherman law was repealed in October of the same year, and the depression continued until 1896. In other words, the disaster did not begin with the passage of the Sherman law, and it did not end with its repeal, but it began with the election of Cleveland and it ended only with his retirement. The morning after the election in 1896, business prosperity began all over the land, with about the same kind of uniformity that depression set in the morning after election in 1892.

The abusive attack upon Mr. Kilburn by the *Times* and its misrepresentation of the history of the period is a case of distortion of facts to mislead public opinion that is not surpassed and seldom equalled by the most sensational type of partisan journals. The case of the New York *Times* is perhaps worse than that of the *Boston Herald*, in that the *Herald's* presentation of inflammatory falsehoods was only quasi-editorial, while the effort of the *Times* was a pretentious editorial exhibition of journalistic righteousness. The foundation for wholesome, intelligent public opinion is an honest press.



## THE ROOT OF EVIL IN JAPAN: A REPLY

S. YAMAGUCHI, M. A.

Mr. Archer B. Hulbert's article on "The Root of Evil in Japan" in a recent number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, I commenced reading with deep interest, but I regret to say that I finished it with the greatest disappointment.

Mr. Hulbert has explained, or at least, I should say has tried to explain, the root of evil in Japan, but he has been quite unsuccessful. In a word, his "root of evil" in Japan is the lack of a national ideal, or, if any, a "low plane of morals." As the direct evidence for his statement, he mentioned the "Imperial Words of Education," which according to him, "one cannot read, knowing that it is an imperial message from the throne of a recognized nation to those in whose hands a beautiful and immeasurably important realm lies, without pain." Many thoughts he gave as his reason for saying this, which in their essence, mean, as I understand, that any nation striving for pure morality falls far below the mark it sets, and as the imperial words which indicate Japan's national ideal set nothing but a pure moral code, distinct from religions, there is the root of evil in Japan. "What is Japan morally?" he says, "The most corrupt nation in the world, to-day recognized in the comity of nations." Taking liberty, as I think I have a right to do, to use a similar sentence with the preceding one of Mr. Hulbert's, I should call his essay the most shallow of all critical papers on Japan ever written in these days of advanced knowledge.

I will not now discuss history, that, as he says, has proven the words, "Other foundation can no man lay

than is laid." Nor will I take pains to ask the profound former editor of the "Korean Independent," what is the distinction between pure morality and pure religion and the trend of thought of modern thinkers on this point; but I do not feel justified to leave untouched a few subjects in his peculiar interpretation of the imperial words. Mr. Hulbert denounced the "Imperial Words on Education" as unworthy of an imperial message from the throne of a recognized nation, because, he says:

"No man and no nation strikes higher than the aim, and no nation in the past, aiming at achieving pure morality merely, ever achieved it. In the very face of one of the simplest lessons of history, the emperor of Japan holds out to the youth of the empire a purely moral code. No man's character is determined only by his morals. Many leaders of men have boasted a pure morality whose characters make unsafe models, and most men striving for a pure morality fall far below the mark they set. . . . If the highest criterion held before the people is a pure morality, that nation will inevitably be an immoral nation."

Well, what is a nation's ideal? Is there anything religious in the national ideal of any state in the present time? Is there any modern state recognized as having religious codes, distinct from a moral, as its national ideal? I say modern state, in the sense of a state, whether monarchical or democratic, founded on the recognized principles of political science. Such a question can be easily answered by any elementary student in politics. At the end of this century we do not recognize any state as having a religious ideal, even if here and there we may find some which still hold to the remnants of theocratic elements of their earlier days. The current but waning notion of Christendom as a state is nothing but a feeble tradition from the

time of Charlemagne under whom the state became Christian through the consecration of the pope. No one now denies that the state is distinct from the church. The national ideal of any state is not, or at least ought not to be, religious.

The emperor of Japan as a man and an individual has an individual freedom just the same as any man. He may be a husband or father, the member of a church, or perhaps a scholar or poet. But in all public affairs it is not as an individual but as the head of the state, that he expresses his will, whether he is a Buddhist, a Shintoist or a Christian. The "Imperial Words on Education" as an utterance from the head of the state, and as the expression of the will of the state, have nothing to do with any religious idea whatever. The emperor of Japan is not the high priest of a theocracy, but a sovereign of a constitutional monarchy. It is rather foolish of any one to expect any religious tone in the imperial message. The state can only go so far as to assure its subjects of their freedom of belief. Even if the emperor of Japan were a devout Christian, he, as the emperor, has no right to speak for his personal religious belief in his imperial message. Nor would he be wise to do so in a country where there is no particular type of religion, but a mixture of divergent religions, not one of which is predominant.

Moreover, the course of national education taken up by any modern state is quite different from any religious education. All modern nations have already relinquished the old idea of religious education. Is it a wonder then that Japan is also too wise to follow the medieval examples?

Quite contradictory to Mr. Hulbert's accusation that the imperial words have no religious tone, he further denounced them as implying the old spirit of ancestor-worship. Here again he is absolutely mis-



taken—or at least his view is utterly superficial. We never “worship” ancestors; we only reverence them—reverence them perhaps in a higher degree than western nations. We are brought up to respect traditions and customs and to endeavor to preserve what our forefathers left to us. We are taught to be not only loving to our wives and children, but also loyal to our fathers. We are extremely reluctant to destroy what our elders have built. Here the eastern and the western ethics are common in their essentials, even if in their details they differ from each other. Ancestor reverence is everywhere common—not to omit Christian countries. Only we have perhaps a stronger tendency to it than any western nation. We are so conservative in this respect that such a drama as that of the French revolution can never be enacted in Japan; still we are very far from being worshipers of ancestors. We know that it often happens that some form of government or customs, founded originally with good intentions, cease in time to suit the altered conditions of a nation; that in such a case it cannot be the duty of a healthy policy to leave them unaltered just because they were inherited from previous generations; and that, on the contrary, one’s aim should be to improve the now useless system and restore harmony with the other conditions of the national life. Japan’s recent history has clearly proven this. It is impossible for an ancestor-worshipping nation to accomplish as much and as rapidly as has Japan.

The short sketch by Mr. Hulbert of Japan’s recent history proves nothing but a knowledge insufficient for defining such a grave topic as the root of evil in Japan. One of his most fallacious statements is as following:

“In the following year, by the help of several of the daimyos, including Marquis Ito, Count Inouye and General Saigo, he [the emperor] marched through the

empire and destroyed one after another the feudal strongholds of the daimyos."

This is not history. This is a fiction of his own, pen-made, and every word of the statement is false. Neither of these three statesmen was a daimyo; nor did they, except Saigo, play any important part on the political stage at that time. Neither did the emperor ever march through the empire, nor did he "destroy one after another the feudal strongholds of the daimyos." I wonder where this remarkable historian found these facts. Still this is only a trifling mistake when compared with the following passage in his paper:

"Japan at the same time offers a striking exception to the general rule in that the progress of Christian teaching is advancing much faster among the high class than among the low. . . . Thus, while Japan is forging rapidly ahead, the nation is not moving as one. . . . The result is an alarming incompatibility. The reason for this is that the higher classes are acquiring, consciously or unconsciously, more than a moral standard. . . . They are realizing a higher plane than mere morality. . . .

"The root of evil in Japanese civilization is the growing incompatibility of the upper and lower classes; the powers actually becoming dominated by Christian principle but at the same time holding out to their fellow-countrymen the heathenish moral code of their ancestors or not giving them a light which they themselves possess. This is not honest."

I am at a total loss to find on what historical grounds does Mr. Hulbert, the former editor of one of the far eastern periodicals, who ought to be perfectly well acquainted with Japan, dare to announce such an opinion as that. I do not intend to argue about Mr. Hulbert's so-called "general rule" of the progress of Christian teaching; but I can declare that the Christian

teaching in Japan is remarkable for its having been welcomed by all the people without the slightest distinction of classes. Moreover, Christian churches themselves in Japan, being in their primitive stage of progress, have made and are making very little discrimination against lower classes, while we often hear complaint in Europe and America that churches are made a quasi-social organ for the well-to-do, thus leaving out the poorer classes. I should not wonder, nor do I take it as "a striking exception to the general rule," if the higher classes acquired Christian teachings as well as other European civilization faster than the masses.

It is quite natural that the higher classes, being richer, more well-to-do and having more leisure, are apt to find more opportunities for advancing their knowledge and virtue than their poorer brothers. This is the most natural process in the progress of civilization everywhere, and it does not at all imply "the growing incompatibility of the upper and lower classes." Why can it be so only in the case of Japan? As a matter of fact, there is not only no growing incompatibility, as Mr. Hulbert pointed out, but, whatever is acquired by the higher classes is being shared by all the rest of the community by the rapidly growing system of education and other means of communication.

I dare not say with Mr. Hulbert that the "powers" are "actually becoming dominated by Christian principle;" but at the same time I positively deny that they are "holding out to their fellow countrymen the heathenish moral code of their ancestors and not giving them a light which they themselves possess." If it were true, of course "this is not honest." But they are not any more or any less influenced by the Christian principles than their fellow countrymen. Nor have they ever abandoned their precious moral code



inherited from their ancestors, however "heathenish" it may look to Mr. Hulbert and to some missionaries to whom everything that is not found in Christian countries seems to be "heathenish," or to lie in the "shadow of sin and death."

Their moral code whose essence is common with that of the western people undoubtedly was modified to some extent by Christian principles, more indirectly through the western ethics introduced to Japan with other sciences and arts than directly through Christianity itself, whose broad and indefinite name covers so many sects and so many divergent moral teachings, often contradictory to each other. Mr. Hulbert wisely says that "they [Japanese] must realize that, had it not been for Christianity, contact with the West would have raised Japan to her present position no sooner than contact with China."

This may sound very encouraging to missionary work in Japan; but from a purely historical point of view it would be more correct and more descriptive instead of figurative if he had reversed the order of the two phrases in the above sentence, and had them read as follows:

They must realize that, had it not been for contact with the West, Christianity would have raised Japan to her present position no sooner than China.

This proposition does by no means ignore the importance of Christian influence in Japan's recent history; but it does not exaggerate!

As to Mr. Hulbert's solemn verdict upon the moral status of Japan as "the most corrupt nation in the world recognized in the comity of nations," it is needless either to apologize or to vindicate, because once in a while there may be similar shallow critics among those of our nation who dare to call even this glorious country of wealth, liberty and enlightenment "the most

corrupt nation in the world," merely on the ground of their superficial observations of such sections as Coney Island, Chinatown etc. of New York city, or only of their being told about Tammany Hall politics, and about some business dishonesty of railroads and other large establishments.

Such kind of premature judgment is just as fallacious as the kind of testimony Mr. Hulbert has offered to the public as the best evidence for his verdict. Reading, however, such a statistical statement as given him by "A long resident in Japan, an earnest Christian missionary," concerning morality among Japanese women, *i. e.*, "in the large cities five per cent. of Japanese girls are pure, in the small cities one in one hundred, in the country at large no perceptible fraction," I should like to know who is that venerable missionary who as a missionary of the Gospel pretends to be a real friend of Japan, even sacrificing his life and worldly welfare for the sake of the Japanese, but who dares to give anybody such a false, horrible statement, atrociously insulting towards the women of Japan. I really doubt this missionary's sincerity and truthfulness. Even the women in Coney Island would feel indignant at such a statement as that "only five per cent., one in one hundred, or no perceptible fraction of them are pure!" I am not so brave as to say with Mr. Hulbert that "the hope of civilization in Japan . . . is in Christianity;" still I am one of those who not only welcome Christian missionaries in Japan, but also ardently desire to cooperate with them for her spiritual civilization. But we cannot welcome nor bear such an enemy-like friend, a treacherous colleague or at least a fanatical missionary.

American friends, send us more missionaries. We welcome them and we need them. But beware not to send those who exaggerate all weaknesses and short-

comings of our people so that they can over-magnify their own importance and dare to attribute to their own merit all enlightenment and advancement in every line of our civilization, being mean enough to ignore all merits on the part of other foreigners as well as of the government and the people at large. Beware not to send those who are fanatical enough to denounce everything Japanese as "heathenish," denouncing even their old ceremonies of marriages and funerals as against the Christian teachings. Beware not to send those who make themselves no evangelists of grace but pioneers of international greediness and insatiable Machiavellianism. Beware not to send those who cannot make a living here in their own country, but who go there simply because they can live as lords with a thousand dollars a year, without anything to do but occasionally teaching the English Bible to some half-a-dozen young men who come to them simply for learning English. Send us those—only those—who know us, sympathize with us, love us as Paul did the Romans, wish to become even our own citizens and part of our own nation, thus exterminating all the sources of international disturbance, devoting their lives really to the welfare of their heathen brothers as they may call us. If not, your humanitarian, noble and God-like intention and effort will not bring a particle of good but a great harm and misery, not only to us but to the cause of universal peace and of the kingdom of the Lord.

Woe to China, however ignorant and bigoted her rulers and people are whose insufficient protection of foreign residents, mostly missionaries, has caused her to yield herself to these cross-crowned wolves who call themselves with such a noble name as Christendom. The ideals and the facts of civilization are going in the opposite direction from each other. What is the inter-



national law after all? Nothing but an absolute lawlessness is the law of the nations. Can there be no right beyond might in international politics as well as within a state? Or at least can there be no chivalrous gallantry on the part of the stronger for the sake of the weaker, not only sex but also nations? Can there be no compassion on the part of the world-powers for all the smaller and feebler nations in the world?

Clergymen, baptize your own politics and diplomacy with the sense of duty toward something higher than mere national power, with righteousness and humanity, if not with the cold water. Do it even before you proclaim your faith throughout the whole world, because taught as you are so to do, your Saviour said to Peter, three times repeatedly, "Feed my sheep."

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IT IS at least interesting as a political phenomenon to observe Mr. Croker's sudden outburst of civic virtue. To see him shake his fist in the face of Tammany leaders, with the threat that if they do not suppress vice in their districts they must go, almost looks like a sudden influx of the missionary spirit. Why has Mr. Croker had this sudden awakening? The reason is obvious. It is because his party has received an unmistakable thrashing throughout the entire country and the spirit is upon the people to do likewise in New York city in the coming mayoralty election. Of course nobody believes in Croker's sincerity, because everybody knows that he has grown rich through the protection of the very vice which he now pretends to want suppressed. The spirit of republican institutions and the ordinary decency of civilized society demand that Crokerism in New York city be treated exactly as Bryanism was treated by the nation. But this cannot be accomplished by substituting Platts, Bidwells and Quiggs for Crokers, Carrolls and Scanlans.

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THE PROPOSITION for a state constabulary for New York, as suggested by Senator Platt, is offensive to the very idea of self-government. It proposes to take the policing of the greatest city of the country out of the hands of its citizens and vest it in the state authorities. This is practically saying that the city with the greatest amount of wealth and culture, the center of trade, commerce, art, science and education, is not capable of self-government. Such a proposition is far more imperialistic in spirit than the military government of the Philippines; it ought not to, and it is quite safe to pre-

dict will not, succeed. If we are to preserve even the outward forms of democratic institutions, New York city should surely have self-government. If it cannot elect decent, able or honest officials, then it would better pay the penalty of their maladministration as a part of its education in self-government.

If a state constabulary is the best thing republican statesmanship can propose for the better government of New York city, the party is obviously unequal to the task, and the public must look elsewhere for redemption of the American metropolis from its present scandalous government. It is clearly an instance where the people must act for themselves under new leadership and new policies.

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THE INDICTMENT of the chief of police of New York city for threatening to encourage violations of the election law, the prompt warning of the governor to Mayor Van Wyck, and the consequent immediate recall of Chief Devery's instructions, all followed by a peaceful, orderly election, shows what can be done when the proper officials act in earnest, even if under the influence of fear. And now Mr. Croker's demand for suppression of vice, Mayor Van Wyck's hearty promise to cooperate with Bishop Potter, and his command to the police department and commissioners to do likewise, are further evidence that the scandalous relation of the police department to all forms of vice and corruption is not a necessary feature of New York or of any large city, but is very largely the result of official cooperation with the perpetrators of crime. All this tends to prove two things: (1) that police efficiency in New York city is possible, (2) that it can never be expected under a Tammany regime. For a generation it was declared by Tammany that the streets of New York city could not be cleaned; the traffic was too great, the people too



reckless and the expense too enormous. One term of an efficient, business-like administration under Mayor Strong settled that problem, and now the streets can be cleaned even under Tammany.

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AS OUR November issue was on the press, the wires flashed the news that John Sherman was dead. His death removed from the forum of political activity one who enjoyed the longest unbroken record in public life of any man in the history of the country. Although a prominent figure in public life since 1854, his name will be most conspicuously identified with the question of national finance. It was under his leadership that the nation after the war was safely piloted from the era of depreciated currency to specie payments. From that time on he became not merely the republican leader in, but the national authority on, finance. But his statesmanship was unequal to the task of leading the nation beyond the point of specie payments and par value for greenbacks. The crudities of our national banking system, the importance of retiring the greenbacks and all other forms of legal tender paper money and placing all note circulation on a current coin redemption basis, were beyond his reach. When he declared that the greenback is the best money the world ever saw he announced the end of his usefulness as a fiscal statesman. But he did a great work for which history will do him honor. It remains for some one to take up the work, who shall be as progressive and clear-sighted in shaping our national financial policy to-day as John Sherman was thirty years ago.

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THE *Atlanta Constitution*, like the *Macon Telegraph* and some other southern journals, is rather naturally exercised over the withering defeat visited upon Mr. Bryan. Ignoring its lost laurels as a political prophet,

the *Constitution* issues forthwith a double-column editorial on reorganization. After branding "as with a red-hot iron" all those of the faith who did not vote for Bryan, it appeals to all to return to the camp in order to save the nation in 1904. In enumerating the reasons for this, among other things the *Constitution* says:

"With indecent haste a republican raid upon the public was begun within three days after the republican victory. The meat trust has raised its prices so as to recoup from the people the contribution it made to the campaign. These are but starters in the excesses and scandals for which we must look."

Of course the *Constitution* may be excused for being a little excited, and some undignified pranks may be overlooked under the circumstances, but such a bald falsehood cannot be excused. The editor of the *Constitution* ought to know from its own market reports that this statement is false. Petty irresponsible sheets which parrot any rumor that comes along may be expected to do this sort of thing, but for the *Atlanta Constitution* seriously to proclaim it editorially is, to say the least, extraordinary. Before the *Constitution's* ink was dry, it was unqualifiedly denied by the Chicago packers that any advance in prices had been made or was thought of. Mere misrepresentation and abuse are neither good statesmanship, good journalism nor good politics.

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PROGRESS IN education is more and more tending in the direction of practical study, that is, study which contributes directly to the general usefulness of the citizens. This is particularly marked in the field of economics and political science, which subjects are receiving very much more attention in the great colleges than formerly. Within the last few years these economic and political studies have taken on a still more practical

form. This year, for instance, Princeton has added a chair of politics, to be devoted to the teaching not of abstract principles so much as of current political policies.

New York University has gone even further in this direction of practical work, by establishing a school of commerce and finance. This is intended to reach not merely college and university students, but to furnish an opportunity for clerks and mechanics by holding its sessions in the evening. The faculty of the school is very largely composed of practical specialists in the subjects taught, or men who hold responsible positions and are able to speak from practical experience. Thus, for instance, the professor of the theory of finance and accounts is Dr. Charles E. Sprague, president of the Union Dime Savings Institution of New York city. Dr. Sprague, besides being a scholar, is a man of great experience with financial institutions, having risen to his present position from the bottom round of the ladder. The university is to be congratulated upon securing his services for this subject.

This departure towards popular practical education is a step in the right direction. It is in harmony with the spirit and need of the times and shows that, under the leadership of Chancellor MacCracken, New York University is keeping pace with the most rapid progress that is being made in the development of educational institutions.

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AND NOW the *Minneapolis Times* is weeping over the large profits of the Standard Oil Company. It would almost seem as if some people would protest against a large concern making any profits even if it furnished its products to the community free. The *Minneapolis Times* repeats what has now become hackneyed, that the profits of the Standard Oil Company



are 47 per cent. on its investment, which it puts at \$97,500,000. The *Times* seems not to know, or not to care to be informed, that the Standard Oil Company is capitalized at less than one-fourth of its investments. The investments of that concern, in its domestic and foreign trade, are more like four hundred and fifty millions than ninety-seven millions. The nominal capital of a company has nothing to do with its earnings, and may have little relation to its real investment. Several of the "boom" concerns of the last two years have a capitalization of fifty to one hundred millions, three-fourths of which is wind or water. The Standard Oil Company, like the Chemical Bank of New York and many other concerns, has adopted the reverse policy. Instead of watering its stock it has a highly distilled capital. The liberal earnings of the watered concerns appear as very small dividends on each share of stock, the moderate earnings of the actual invested capital of the Standard Oil Company show an extraordinarily large dividend on the nominal capital stock. Forty-six millions of earnings on four hundred and fifty millions is less than ten per cent. on the investment. The *Times* probably makes that much. It is perhaps too much to expect that papers like the *Minneapolis Times* will state the facts regarding large corporations as they really are, since that might destroy the opportunities for flaming head-lines and perhaps reduce their pages to dull reading. Yet nothing is gained in the long run, even for journalism, by berating with misrepresentation the industrial development of the nation.

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THE REJECTION of Mr. Bryan by practically the entire country outside the South seems to have given southern leaders a realizing sense of their political isolation. They have long prided themselves on keeping up a "solid South," putting themselves behind any-

thing and everything labeled "democratic," regardless of its sense or sanity or the risk of national disruption. They are now awakening to the fact that they have been used as political capital by politicians whose success has depended on receiving the assured support of the solid South. As a remedy for this contemptuous use of the solid South, the *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph* proposes another secession; this time a secession not from the union but from the democratic party. The *Telegraph* proposes, not that the South shall cease to isolate itself from the rest of the country and become merged in the national life with a natural division of political opinions and interests like all other sections, but that it shall become still more solid and cease all alliance with the democratic or any other political party, enter the field as a southern party, and "demand terms."

This might have a wholesome effect on the democratic party, as it would compel it to stand on its own merits before the country, without a political bonus of one-third of the electoral votes already in its pocket. It would probably improve the tone of political party discussion throughout the North, East, and West, but how would it benefit the South? Such a policy would convert southern solidity and isolation into political (and, what is worse, probably industrial) ostracism. What the South needs is to become more industrial and less political, more American and less sectional, more liberal and less solid in politics, more an inseparable and indistinguishable part of the spirit and life of the nation and less a sulking, sour, envious section. The editor of the *Macon Telegraph* may have "the rich red blood of our sires" in his veins, but his proposition is provincialism and not statemanship.

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THE METHODS of the police force in New York city are probably the vilest known in Christendom. It

is therefore quite natural that an outburst of civic reform should directly point to the police force as the most vicious instrument of Crokerism. But the proposition of Mr. Platt to remedy the situation by transferring the management of the police force from New York city to Albany, by means of a state constabulary law, is not likely to meet with general approval. In the first place, such a proposition is undemocratic in principle, being directly opposed to the idea of municipal home rule, and in the second, the people of New York city at least have a very strong feeling, practically amounting to a conviction, that such a measure would simply be transferring the power over the police force in New York city from Croker to Platt. While nobody charges that Mr. Platt is personally of the same type of man as Croker, or that he has ever been the recipient of any open tax upon vice, it is believed, indeed known, that many of the people whom Mr. Platt uses as lieutenants are distinctly of that stripe. Men who will trade with Tammany, use Tammany employees to control republican primaries and conventions, and use the power of federal patronage to coerce delegates to take nominations from the voluntarily chosen candidates and give to others, as the result of a trade, as Quigg and Bidwell are known to have done in the last campaign, cannot be held in any higher public esteem than Croker's henchmen. There is abundant evidence, some of which will soon be forthcoming, that these men are as unworthy to be trusted with the administration of public affairs, where protection of the rights of the people is at stake, as is Croker or any of his Tammany subordinates. Until Mr. Platt finds more trustworthy lieutenants, in whom the people can have far greater confidence than the Quiggs and Bidwells are entitled to, no real improvement can be expected by transferring the police force of New York city to Albany.



## NEW YORK'S MORAL AND POLITICAL DUTY

The open and unconcealed growth of vice and the flourishing condition of low resorts, in New York city, have been emphasized by recent clashes between the police protectors of these vile dens and certain resident clergymen of the worst affected sections. The demoralization of the city's police force as displayed in these encounters, and in the shameful dallying with recent anti-negro outbreaks on the west side, is so thoroughly scandalous that even in the heat of the late national campaign interest developed in the mayoralty election of next year. Now that the campaign is over, the municipal duty of 1901 is already the absorbing topic of public discussion.

To rescue the metropolis from the intolerably corrupt set of political parasites who now control it, either directly or through pliant office-holders, is a task that ought to summon all the resources of decency, cleanliness and civic patriotism to be found within the limits of greater New York. There must be no such colossal blunder next year as divided the supporters of good government into hostile camps in 1897. To bring all factions together, however, is going to demand some genuine concessions and changes of attitude. It is not too early to make the warning prophecy that if the republican organization does not between now and the opening of the mayoralty campaign take genuine advanced ground upon the issues of clean politics, clean administration, liberty of individual opinion and action within party lines, and a progressive program of wholesome propositions dealing with the social conditions and educational opportunities of the people, especially in the crowded tenement districts, it will more than

likely have to face another split in its ranks and see Tammany snatch a new lease of power.

This would be a calamity from every point of view. Public opinion ought to be exerted in the strongest possible way to bring this most powerful of the political bodies that stand opposed to Tammany into a position where the cooperation of all decent elements in the city will become possible. As a means to this end, it would be a wholesome thing if New York had an organization like the voters' league of Chicago, which, as a non-partisan and even non-political body has come to exert great influence in municipal affairs.

This league is primarily a leader and organizer of sound public opinion. It takes the initiative by announcing a program or platform of municipal reform propositions, and making thorough and persistent campaigns for these propositions on their own merits, but without nominating any third-ticket candidates. Prior to all the regular party nominations and during the subsequent campaigns it makes it a point to give the widest possible publicity to the views and position of every candidate for nomination or nominee for office, upon the propositions in the league's platform. Voters, in very large numbers, have come to look to the information given out by the league as the basis for their action on election day, and knowledge of this fact is having a most wholesome effect in securing the nomination of better candidates and the pledging of political organizations to a higher standard of municipal policies. Some of the methods and accomplishments of this organization were described in the June *Atlantic Monthly* by Professor Edwin Burritt Smith, of Northwestern University, who said of it, to quote the most suggestive points:

"The general membership of the Chicago voters' league is composed of voters, who sign cards express-

ing approval of its purposes and methods. No general meetings of the members are held; but circular letters advising those in a given ward of the local situation are frequently mailed during aldermanic campaigns to secure a wide cooperation. At the opening of its second campaign the league mailed a pamphlet to every registered voter in the city, giving the history for some years of franchise legislation by the council, with a full report on the records of retiring members. Since its work has become thoroughly known, the general publication by the newspapers of the reports and recommendations of the league is very effective. Its facts and conclusions are usually accepted by the press, and no substantial newspaper support can be had for candidates whom it opposes.

“The league makes no attempt to keep up the usual pretense of direct representation of its general membership. No claim is made that the action of the executive committee represents any save those who approve it. The facts upon which such action is based are always given. The appeal is directly to the individual voter, by means of specific recommendations supported by the salient facts. In due time before nominations are made a full report of the official records of retiring members of the council is published, with specific judgments as to their respective fitness for defeat or reelection. On the eve of the election a like report on all candidates is published for the information of the voters. It is assumed that the main issue is upon character and capacity. The voters are, however, advised whether a given candidate stands on the ‘league platform,’ which is a pledge to exact full compensation for franchises, support the civil service law, and unite with others to secure a non-partisan organization of the council.

“The league is entirely non-partisan. The mem-



bers of its executive committee want nothing for themselves. It strives only for the council. This one thing it does. It makes no fight, as yet, on 'the machine' as such. Its fundamental purpose is to inform the voters of the facts about all candidates. There is nothing that the city statesman of the ordinary spoils variety so dislikes as a campaign in which the issue is upon the facts of his own record. He abhors such an issue as nature abhors a vacuum. He prefers a campaign conducted on broad national issues. He regards discussions of the tariff and the currency as of much greater educational value than the facts of his own modest career. In this he is much mistaken. The league has demonstrated that there is nothing of such interest to the voters, on the eve of a municipal election, as an authoritative statement of these suggestive facts."

Of the political conditions in Chicago before the league was organized Professor Smith says:

"The city government of Chicago touched bottom in 1895, when fifty-eight of its sixty-eight aldermen were organized into a 'gang' for the service and blackmail of public service corporations. Within that year six great franchises of enormous value were shamelessly granted away, in utter disregard of general protest and the vetoes of the mayor. Most of the members of the council were without personal standing or character. The others were practically without voice or influence. The people scarcely realized that the council contained an element representative of public interests. . . .

"The city carried on its registration lists over three hundred and fifty thousand voters. About three-fourths of these were of foreign birth or parentage, and many understood the English language but imperfectly, if at all. Nearly all who composed this vast aggregation of seemingly diverse elements were bent upon

their private pursuits. Could they be united to rescue the city from spoilsmen? Few so believed."

The voters' league was organized, however, in January, 1896, by representatives of numerous reform organizations, and Professor Smith thus summarizes the leading results:

"It has now conducted five campaigns, in each of which the election of one-half the membership of the council of the city of Chicago was involved. In its first campaign, twenty out of thirty-four wards returned candidates having its indorsement, two of these being independents. Five others, to whom it gave its qualified indorsement as the choice of evils, were chosen. Each of these last proved unfaithful to public interests. Five others betrayed their pledges. At the expiration of their term, two years later, the league recommended nineteen retiring members for defeat, and fifteen for reelection. Of the first group, but five secured renominations, and but two reelections. Of the second group, three declined renominations in advance, and twelve others were all renominated, and eleven of them reelected. In the same campaign, twenty-five former members of bad record sought to return to the council. The league objected to their nomination, giving their records. Only six were nominated, and three elected. In the campaign of the spring of 1899, the democratic candidate for mayor carried seventeen wards from which republican candidates for the council having the support of the league were returned. All but two of the retiring members condemned by the league were defeated for reelection.

"The net result of the five campaigns must suffice, in lieu of further details of the several contests. Of the the fifty-eight 'gang' members of 1895 but four are now in the council. The 'honest' minority of ten of 1895 became a two-thirds majority in 1899. The qual-

ity of the membership has steadily improved. Each year it is found easier to secure good candidates. To-day the council contains many men of character and force. A considerable number of prominent citizens have become members. The council is organized on a non-partisan basis, the good men of both parties being in charge of all the committees. It is steadily becoming more efficient. No general 'boodle ordinance' has passed over the mayor's veto since the first election in which the league participated. Public despair has given place to general confidence in the early redemption of the council. It is no longer a good investment for public service corporations to expend large sums to secure the reelection of notorious boodlers. It is no longer profitable to pay large amounts to secure membership in a body in which 'aldermanic business' has ceased to be good. It is now an honor to be a member of the Chicago council."

If the citizens' union in New York city would adopt a plan of action more like that of the voters' league of Chicago, there is no doubt the results would far exceed anything it could accomplish by entering the field as a separate political organization, independently, or even in formal alliance with the republicans as was attempted in 1899, with unsuccessful results. If the union acts independently it will mean another Tammany victory. If it formally unites with the republicans it will lose a considerable part of its influence with independent voters, who will immediately suspect it of having entered into a political "deal" at the sacrifice of its principles.

Fusion is always an alluring proposition, but seldom yields the practical results expected of it. The anticipated combining in one body of the whole voting strength of previously distinct organizations never takes place. There is always a large contingent in each or-



ganization dissatisfied with the arrangement, regarding it either as a "sell-out" on the one side or a timid concession on the other, and many of these will go to the extreme of voting the straight opposition ticket rather than support the fusion candidates.

Let the citizens' union, or if not the citizens' union then some new non-political organization, put forward a program which, by its inherent merit and freedom from all suspicion of partisan influence, will command wide popular approval, and it ought to be possible, through it, to secure the nomination of such candidates and adoption of such a platform, by the one permanent political body that must of absolute necessity be enlisted and utilized if Tammany is to be defeated, that all good citizens could unite, first to rescue the city, and thereafter to guide the policies and methods of the successful organization. If such a movement did indeed fail to produce any effect upon the republican organization, it would show that after all nothing more can be hoped for from that source than from Tammany itself, and the situation would seem desperate. Such a result is conceivable only on the theory that public opinion, which is really gaining the mastery in Chicago, has ceased to exert any influence in the metropolis.

## CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

### A School of Diplomacy

It is interesting to learn that the new school of jurisprudence and diplomacy, a department of Columbian University, at Washington, is in a flourishing condition. This department, when founded two years ago, was a new departure, but it was planned on broad lines and designed at least to supply a real need. It is now announced that the University of Chicago is planning a department for the training of young men for service in the consular field. Both these efforts reflect the growing public recognition that merit and training rather than party affiliation ought to govern appointments in the foreign service of the republic, particularly of consuls. There ought to be a larger element of national pride in this matter, to say nothing of the importance of more intelligent and effective aid by our consular officials, all over the world, to the expansion of American trade.

### The Chautauqua Plan Extending

There seems to be no interruption in the steady extension of the Chautauqua system of popular education. During the past summer one hundred and twenty Chautauqua assemblies were held, in thirty-four states and territories, with an aggregate attendance of a million people. Over forty thousand attended the assembly at Chautauqua Lake, New York, while over two thousand pursued courses in its summer schools. The winter home-reading courses of Chautauqua have given instruction to more than a quarter of a million of people. These figures show how great is the demand for educational opportunities which shall reach the great army who are deprived of college advantages. As Lyman Abbott has

said of Chautauqua, it is "designed not for the culture and scholarship of the few, but for the general education of the many," and in this effort to extend a broader knowledge of the literature, science, art and general history of our own and other countries it is doing splendid work.

**"Pilgrimage  
Teaching"**

A little folder, devoted to the "Pilgrimage System of Teaching," has been issued by the New York Central Railroad. It describes in detail all the points of historical and literary interest within easy reach of New York on the north, and the new zoological and botanical gardens in Bronx Park. This folder is intended particularly for New York city school teachers, and offers reduced rates to the various points named, as a means of encouraging the "pilgrimage system of teaching," which is rather general in Germany and is being more and more largely adopted by American schools.

The pecuniary interest of the railroad company in thus undertaking to enter the educational field is sufficiently obvious, but, irrespective of this, the idea is a good one. Object-lessons are ever more potent than book instruction, and in such subjects as American history and literature the custom of visiting points identified with important achievements in either field may be made highly useful, to say nothing of its interest and pleasure. How rapidly this custom is developing in New York city was interestingly pointed out in an article in GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, in May, 1900, by Mr. Charles Burr Todd, on the "City History Club of New York."

**"Domestic  
Science"**

As a novel variation in the multitudinous announcements on every hand of courses designed to educate women for public or business life, it is rather refreshing to receive a modest



pamphlet from the Boston "School of Housekeeping," containing a number of "Suggestions for a Professional School of Home and Social Economics." This helps to revive a lingering hope that, after all, in the enthusiastic pursuit of careers, the home is still to receive a certain limited amount of side attention.

This "School of Housekeeping" was founded by the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, not merely to train young women in the arts of housekeeping but to help create a better conception and juster appreciation of the place of domestic economics in the broader social economy. It describes its own purpose as "a scientific study of the home, to save what is of permanent good, to discard what is useless, and to bring it into line with present industrial tendencies and scientific facts, social and physical, that it shall work not against but for progress. This study is not to the end that the homes of any one class may be bettered, but that the standard of living and life may be raised in all homes, in the belief that this would make for better citizenship, for a greater country, for a nobler race."

**The Southern  
Race Conference**

The report of the first annual conference, held at Montgomery, Alabama, last May, of "The Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South" is at hand. The constitution of the society declares its object to be the furnishing "by means of correspondence, publication, and particularly through public conferences, an organ for the expression of the varied and even antagonistic convictions of representative southern men on the problems growing out of the race conditions obtaining in the South; and thus to secure a broader education of the public mind as to the facts of the situation, and a better understanding of the

remedies for existing evils." The proceedings of the conference were somewhat meagerly reported in the press at the time, and the report in hand gives a much more satisfactory idea of the range of topics covered,—including the franchise, education, lynching, and the social condition of the negro.

It is something to have an association formed in the South, by southern people, for the serious and rational discussion of the negro problem and their own attitude toward it; and it must be said that in general spirit and tenor the addresses were earnest and wholesome, reflecting an apparently genuine desire to find a "way out" of the race-problem tangle. Without questioning the sincerity of individual speakers at the conference, it would be much easier to accept the seemingly admirable spirit and intent of the conference at its full value if the southern people were not even now engaged in disfranchising the negro by an educational test that does not apply to ignorant whites, while seriously proposing in certain states to, practically, abolish negro education by devoting to it only the taxes collected for that purpose from the negroes themselves.

**The Press and  
the Public  
Schools**

In the October number of *Education*, Principal E. L. Cowdrick, of Lawrence, Kansas, vigorously protests against the publication of so-called "educational" articles, of false doctrine and impossible theory. Among those responsible for this kind of literature are the too-confiding editors who publish whatever comes from a teacher, on the assumption that it must be all right, teachers whose tendency is to run after fads, and that class of writers outside of the school field who think they know all about it and attempt to write stories of "child-life," or else become self-constituted sentimental critics of educational methods. Mr. Cowdrick believes that much

of the insubordination in schools and unwillingness to do the right thing even when the inclination is that way, for fear of being laughed at, is traceable directly to the influence of much of the popular fiction supposed to represent child-life. The authors of these works assume to settle, off-hand, problems which are being discussed by profound students and are still far from solution. Two instances are cited. The wife of a prominent author and the editor of a popular magazine have, within the year, written and published articles in which, with an extravagant use of adjectives, teachers, school authorities and even parents are represented as modern Herods, murdering yearly thousands of school children by an overcrowded system of education. People who have no time to investigate the subject for themselves accept all this as coming from reliable sources, and array themselves against educators who are giving their best thought and most serious effort to the perfection of educational methods.

No doubt there is good ground for these strictures, but Mr. Cowdrick's effort to shut off irresponsible critics of the schools, however natural, will hardly bear fruit. Statesmen, public policies, churches, artists of every type, in fact, everybody and everything in the public eye is subject to unlimited criticism, a large part of it considerably more biased, superficial and unintelligent than the average complaints of school methods that come to our notice. There is no way of "choking" this off; it can be met only by exposing the exaggerations and educating the public to a knowledge of the true situation and its real needs. Moreover, there is seldom a wholly unfounded criticism. Our educational system is far from perfect, and criticism, even if largely misdirected, is a spur either to practical reform or to wider discussion of educational problems. Free discussion is a safer and surer way to sift out the truth of a matter than any kind of censorship, however wise.



## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

#### Discrediting the "Consent of the Governed"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—While too late to use before the election of November 6th, I would like to comment on your item in the October number, regarding negro disfranchisement, entitled: "Closing the Doors of Opportunity." How plain it is that men who are overburdened by theory, in the heat of a political contest at once drop into a temporizing and apologetic role. The democratic party as dominated by Bryan has done more than any other force to discredit the meaning of "the consent of the governed." They seem to suppose that the people do not realize that a candidate and politician of dishonest principles is of all others most dangerous to the maintenance of practical self-government. When Mr. Bryan studiously ignores the real acts of his party friends in disfranchising Americans by wholesale, he ought to know that he is in reality aiding treason.

L. P. VANCE, Sutherland, Iowa.

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#### The Latest Phase of the Trust Problem

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read the article on the above subject, by John Bates Clark, LL.D., in your Septem-

ber number, and it seems to me that there should be no difficulty in making a law to regulate the sale of goods from a trust. I am perfectly aware that lawyers can easily make hills into mountains, if it is to their interest to do so, but surely there should be no difficulty in finding a medium between two extremes.

Let us suppose that a law is made that it shall not be lawful for any business concern within the limits of the United States to realize by the sale of goods more than ten per cent. interest on the investment and two and one-half per cent. on the wear and tear of the establishment; all profits arising from the sale of goods over and above the limit of twelve and one-half per cent. to be paid to the state in which the business is situated. Would not that be a common business law suited to the conditions of our industries?

R. R. H., Evanston, Ill.

Direct limitation of profits is an old proposition and thoroughly unsound. It tends to restrict invention, experimentation, the undertaking of costly new enterprises, and industrial progress generally, by putting a fixed limit on the hope of profits to be gained; while in practical operation it has never yet, so far as we know, resulted in any revenue of mentionable consequence being turned over to the state. The corporations, if they find themselves earning more than the permitted amount, always manage to find a way to expend the surplus, either in salaries, improvements, or high interest on bond issues; or else avoid high rates of profit by increasing or "watering" the capital stock.

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### Good and Bad Selections

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—One question has presented itself to me in my reading. On page 290 of "Social Economics,"

Mr. Gunton says: "It is as natural that ignorance will make poor selections as that intelligence will make good ones." This seems to me to leave one point uncovered. Is a poor selection by intelligence a natural one? For example, take the case of Mr. Croker. Let us acknowledge for the sake of the illustration that he is as bad as many men paint him. Although possessed of a large amount of intelligence he deliberately acts in a manner inimical to the welfare of citizens of New York, *i. e.*, makes poor selections, although intelligent ones. Are these selections natural? If so does Mr. Gunton mean that no selections and consequently no actions or choices are unnatural? Then what does the word unnatural mean or has it no meaning? Can anything be unnatural?

The only solution that I can see is that Mr. Gunton may include ideas of right and wrong under the term intelligence. However, that does not give a definite conception of unnatural.

E. M. PATTERSON, Parkville, Mo.

The statement that it is as "natural" for intelligence to make good selections as for ignorance to make bad ones, refers to the choice exercised by the people in voting for public officials. What our correspondent has in mind is something quite different,—the appointment of subordinates by an executive official. A rascal in public office may of course be a very intelligent fellow, and his bad appointments of subordinates would be the result of a vicious and perverted intelligence. This might be said to be "natural" enough, in the sense that every operation of cause and effect is natural. His appointments are bad, not because he is either ignorant or intelligent, but because he is a rascal.

In the case of a whole community voting for public officials it is quite different. If it is an ignorant and



degraded community its choice of a public servant is likely to be inferior, because the people do not know or understand superiority but are inclined to prefer some one more nearly like themselves. If it is a highly intelligent community, while it may contain a good many rascals, the majority will be honest and well-intentioned, and in the aggregate voting the intelligent rascals will be outnumbered. Where the general intelligence has a chance to reflect itself in the result, it is of course "natural" that at least a reasonably good selection will be made. The whole community will never consciously make a vicious and immoral choice. If it does make this kind of a selection, it is the result of a too great preponderance of ignorant population and only to a small extent indicates conscious viciousness.

## QUESTION BOX

### If Nominations Were Free

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE:

Dear Sir:—I was much interested in the suggestion in your recent lecture on "Clean Politics," that nominations should be made by secret voting just like regular elections. But I do not feel at all sure that under this system Mayor Van Wyck could not have been nominated by the democrats of New York, as you suggest. Of course he *might* not have been, but would the average members of Tammany Hall be likely to choose any better man? He is a fair sample, and perhaps a little better than the average Tammanyite.

L. R. E., New York City.

Tammany Hall is not all of the democracy in New York city. Under the system suggested the democrats of New York would all have the right to vote in the primaries for the person they might wish nominated as the democratic candidate for mayor. There is no doubt that the low type of Tammanyites and the office-holders and office-seekers would be satisfied with a man like Van Wyck or even Croker, but these are only a portion of the democratic electors of New York. Not all democrats are corrupt and dishonest, any more than are all republicans, but it is the dishonest and degraded portion of New York democracy, represented in Tammany Hall, that now controls the caucuses and primaries by manipulating delegates. If every democratic voter could have the right merely to vote in the primary for the selection of a candidate, and the names of Van Wyck, Croker, Sheehan and Coler were on the list, and the voting was secret, so that no punishment could be

visited upon those who did not vote for or with Croker, there is little doubt that Coler would get more votes than all the others put together. The Tammany administration lives upon the revenues exacted from crime in all its forms and phases, but it does this by virtue of the power of coercion and practical intimidation it secures through our present political machinery. There is really no reason to believe that even a considerable number of those who vote the democratic ticket approve the Tammany methods, but they simply have to choose on election day between the candidates nominated by Tammany Hall and those nominated by the Platt machine and they prefer the Tammany. If Van Wyck or Croker did receive the nomination for mayor, with a free protected ballot in the primaries, it would be because the voters really preferred gross inferiority and corruption in public office, which we do not believe.

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### The Truck-Store System

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The truck-store system is one of the things complained of in the late coal miners' strike. Do you consider this system inherently bad, or is it the abuses to which it is put that has brought it into disrepute?

A. M. B.

The truck-store is not "inherently bad," if by that our correspondent means bad under all circumstances. The truck-store system is one of those features of industrial life that, like almost all institutions, come into existence as a convenience and often as a real advantage but grow into a menace by being abused. They never exist in large cities or even towns of considerable size, but only in the rural districts. They come into existence about like this: A factory is built or a coal mine opened near a water supply or railroad connection



before there is any town or any facilities for the cheap supplying of necessities. Hucksters begin to visit these places and charge fabulous prices for poor goods. Grocers, butchers, tin peddlers, etc., will come from the nearest towns, offering goods at exorbitant prices with a minimum opportunity of selection. If a private individual opens a store, the payments are usually monthly and he has to give credit. The workmen frequently leave without paying their debts, and thus the dealer has to go to the mine or factory corporation and ask to have his bill collected in the counting room. These disadvantages, due to the distance from the center of supplies, encourages the idea of the corporation opening a store well-stocked with a great variety of supplies and giving the workmen credit from pay-day to pay-day. This, properly conducted, is really superior to the other method, and in some cases it is done at the express desire, by petition, of the workmen or miners. The disadvantages begin to arise, frequently, through the temptation to the manager of the store to show the corporation that he makes a good profit. For this purpose he charges high prices and sometimes for inferior goods, and if the operatives show a disposition to trade elsewhere, as independent stores arise, they are compelled to purchase of the corporation store at the peril of discharge. These phases of it become oppressive and lead to all kinds of injustice, in high prices, poor quality of goods, inaccuracy of charges and restriction of the freedom of the laborer to have the advantage of competition. In short, as a rule, truck-stores, when they first come into existence are a benefit to the workmen. The abuses arise from the temptations growing out of the power to compel the laborers to purchase, and to fix the prices and other conditions of his trading. These abuses have been so general and violent that it

has been found necessary to legislate against the truck-store system despite its advantages at birth.

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### The Election and the Philippine Problem

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have followed with interest your course in supporting the administration while opposing its Philippine policy, and wonder what policy you will advocate now. I do not see how Mr. McKinley can, in the light of the election returns, have any other feeling than that he has received a mandate to hold the islands permanently, just as we have held Texas and California. On what grounds can you expect the administration to adopt a policy looking towards Filipino independence?

G. H. B.

President McKinley would have great difficulty in extracting from the election returns a mandate to hold the Philippine islands permanently, just as we have held Texas and California. The truth is, the Philippine question was conspicuously not the question upon which the administration received its great vote, and the evidence of this is in the fact that even the president in his letter of acceptance and Secretary Root in his able statement of the case, in his address at Canton, did not argue for a colonization policy. There were, to be sure, clear and able defences of the present policy of the administration in suppressing armed resistance and establishing peace, order and civil government in the Philippines. The strength of the administration party on this point was that its course did not materially differ from Mr. Bryan's proposed policy on the same subject. Indeed, the republican party, in the press and on the platform, from first to last avoided anything like a claim for a colonial policy, much less a policy of treating the islands the same as we have

treated Texas and California, which would be to make them into states.

The real issues in the campaign, upon which the people rallied round the administration, were sound money and prosperity. On these two subjects the people were afraid of Bryan, who represented fiat money, populism and industrial disruption. Moreover, Mr. McKinley has not the power of settling the Philippine question permanently. That has to be dealt with by congress, and public sentiment may now be freely expressed upon the subject, since the question may now be discussed without involving a vicious monetary and economic policy.

The election of McKinley was regarded as necessary to save the solvency and prosperity of the country. The question of the permanent disposition of the Philippines is now in the hands of the people, through public opinion expressed in the press and in congress. If the republican party should make the mistake of failing to discriminate between the people's endorsement of sound money and a protective policy, and a permanent annexation colonial policy, it will resurrect the democratic party and invite its own destruction.



## BOOK REVIEWS

THE UNITED KINGDOM. A Political History. By Goldwin Smith, D. C. L. Cloth, gilt tops, two volumes, 650—482 pp. \$4.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The history of England, being practically the history of the rise of modern civilization, furnishes a field for all kinds of historical students. England was the mother of parliamentary institutions, trial by jury, the right of free religious opinion, the economic evolution from feudalism to the wage system, the factory system, the railroad, the free press and the factory acts. The social struggles through which all this was evolved furnish the basis for the historian of practically every aspect of social development and civilization.

The story of England has been told in such a multitude of ways that it would almost seem as if little remained to justify another history except the discovery of some new data, or presentation of a new or more philosophical interpretation of the facts. The present work comes with neither of these missions. It heralds no new facts, and makes no pretence of being the result of original investigation. Neither does it bring any contribution to the philosophic interpretation of history; indeed, it is entirely innocent of any attempt at political philosophy. Why England, which was the most backward country in Europe in the tenth century and even at the time of the conquest, should have become the leader in modern civilization our author does not attempt to explain.

The work is an attractively written account of the political history of the United Kingdom; a history, however, in the sense of narrating facts rather than

explaining their setting and causes. In the preface the author says the task "has been performed by the hand of extreme old age." This never would be suspected from reading the text. Like the author's political history of the United States, this work is written in a brilliant and at times even eloquent style. Each chapter is like a lecture in which the author's chief effort appears to be to foreshorten and condense, to give a hurried glance at, rather than a full account or philosophic discussion of, the events of the period discussed. The spirit of the work is buoyant, liberal, progressive, and where anything like an attempt at detail or close discussion occurs eminently fair. Although the two volumes contain nearly eleven hundred pages, the reader will fail to get from it any adequate account, and in some cases hardly a hint, of the great economic undercurrents that have been the real moving forces in the making of English political history. For instance, the development of the towns, of industry within them and commerce between them, their struggles for charter privileges, acquiring the right of self-government and self-protection, which form so conspicuous a part of the real background of political growth during the middle ages, is referred to in passing sentences from which the reader, unless otherwise informed, would get no approximate idea of their true place in the historic development of England.

There are a few instances, however, where our author departs from his method of cursory mention to give an approximately adequate account, and when he does so it shows the touch of a master hand. One instance of this kind is his description of Thomas à Becket. In less than a dozen pages he gives the account of Becket as chancellor, boon companion of the king, renegade, magician, archbishop, despot and martyr, in a way that brings the entire case of Becket

before the reader so that he can hardly fail to comprehend. This account is one of the bits of descriptive statement which is at once eloquent, full, comprehensive, brief, clear, and it leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader of the author's estimate of Becket's performances and his merits as a martyr.

Another instance of this kind is his description of the trial of Strafford and the eloquence of Pym. He states eloquently the case of the puritans and Cromwell, without doing injustice to Charles, something which is rare in democratic historians. One of the best features of the book, especially of the first volume, is the account of the growth of the house of commons; yet this could hardly be called an account, since the reference to the subject is in scattered sentences, but it comes in the brief mention of a multitude of facts of a purely political character. Though practically nothing is said of the great importance of the towns in the national development, the author does not omit to mention that in the reign of Henry III. they were the backbone of parliament. In Simon de Montfort's parliament in 1265 he tells us that "besides barons and prelates, four knights from each shire," there were two burghers from each borough summoned to the parliament, and that, in the parliament of 1295, 37 counties and 166 boroughs were represented. In the boroughs were included those of the royal domain as well as of the barons'. He adds: "But the selection of the boroughs was now and long afterwards in the hands of the crown, which afterwards used the power for the purpose of packing the house of commons." This is true, but it should be remembered that the struggle during this period was between the barons and the king, and the king was more friendly to the burghers and the common people than were the barons. Indeed, it was by concessions from the king rather than from privileges from the barons that the



towns received their charters and the burghers their rights of self-government.

The growth of the towns, with their various kinds of guilds and associations in which the burghers learned the spirit and art of self-government, was the real factor which became the balance of power between the two great forces, the barons and the king, in their struggle for supremacy. Thus it was that with the growth of the house of commons, which began with Montfort's parliament and assumed definite form, exercising power over the treasury and the king's ministers, in the reign of Edward III., the burghers became the real force in laying the foundations of parliamentary government.

When discussing eighteenth-century politics and the American revolution the author shows that he is more English than American. He criticizes many of the statements of the declaration of independence as exaggerations, injuring "by their untruthfulness or exaggeration the cause in which they are employed." He says: "In Jefferson's draft there was a virulent clause fixing upon George III., who was no monster of inhumanity, the personal responsibility for slavery and the slave-trade." "The framer of that clause," he adds, "never emancipated his own slaves." While criticizing the obstinacy of George III. and the weakness of his ministers for yielding to the king, he is far from thinking the American cause entirely just. He points out that all the enemies of England took advantage of the quarrel with the colonies, which contributed very largely to American success. "France," he says, "now grasped her opportunity of revenge for the loss of Canada and all the humiliations inflicted on her by Chatham. Already Lafayette, a light-headed young aristocrat, caught by the revolutionary theories which were presently to guillotine his order, had gone forth as a knight-errant to fight for American independence.

For some time it had been apparent that France meant mischief and that her disclaimers were lies. She now impudently threw off the mask and sent a fleet and army to the assistance of the Americans." Again he exclaims: "All the enemies of England now gathered, vulture-like, round her apparently fainting frame. Spain joined the league, not from sympathy with the Americans, whom she had reason to fear as neighbors to her American dependencies, but from the passionate desire, which never left her, of recovering her Rock. Holland was drawn in. . . . Russia and the other Baltic powers formed a menacing league of armed neutrality with the same intent. . . . Never was England so near her ruin."

While criticizing the colonists, he thinks the separation from the mother country inevitable. "The parting was sure to come," he says: "What was deplorable was the manner of the parting, which entailed a deadly schism of the race, and left a long train of bitterness and mutual animosity behind. The children of Spain in the new world, though Spain was a far worse mother than England, forgave or forgot; but the children of England cherished against her a persistent hatred." To this hatred of the mother-country he attributes the retention of Canada by England. The persecution of the tories after the war, which drove them into Canada, he thinks, made the strong English power in the dominion which welded Canada closer to the mother country. "Instead of closing the civil war with amnesty," he says, "the victorious party in America chose to expel the vanquished, and thousands of loyalists, Tories, as their enemies called them, testified by going into exile their unshaken attachment to the mother-country. For these a home was to be found under the British flag, and it was found in Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Congress rejecting

or evading by an ironical reference to the States a claim for indemnity, Great Britain gave the loyalists indemnity to the extent of three millions and a half."

Of the movements of the present century the chief one discussed by Goldwin Smith is that culminating in the first reform bill. Such movements as that of Henry Hunt, of Peterloo fame, the chartists' movement, Catholic emancipation and the factory acts, are each disposed of with a brief paragraph. Of the reform bill, however, a good account is given in the spirit of the new movement.

It is to be regretted, however, that a history of England published in 1899 does not come down further than to the beginning of the present reign. Modern England, the England of striking reforms and strides for freedom, the England which gave the first beneficent legislation for labor, which admitted Jews and Catholics to representation, abolished religious tests for citizenship and gave a free press, finds practically no place in this history. Not even the struggle for free trade gets more than a passing mention. In many respects Goldwin Smith's history of the United Kingdom is highly unsatisfactory. It is too large to be a mere summary and it is too cursory to be a satisfactory history. It is a touch-and-run account of the political experience of England, but it affords practically no insight into the real history of English political institutions. It is readable and sometimes racy and occasionally eloquent. It is well worth having in a collection of histories of England, but for a single work on the subject it does not take the place of Green, Freeman, Guizot, Hallam or Hume.

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AN OUTLINE OF POLITICAL GROWTH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Edmund Hamilton Sears,



A. M. Cloth, gilt tops, 616 pp. \$3.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This book is full of instruction, and most interesting; there is nothing dull in it from cover to cover. The reader may sometimes feel that the author's sympathy is more with England's type of development than with a pure democracy. He points out very clearly the attitude of that class, of whom the Duke of Wellington was a type, who feared the ascendancy of the common people. He says (pages 310-11):

"Thus, the results which the Duke of Wellington and his political allies feared have gradually been brought about. The English political edifice now rests practically upon a basis of universal suffrage, and the government of the country is no longer in the hands of a privileged class. Leadership, however, still belongs to the men who, by reason of ability, education, social influence, and political experience, are best fitted to lead. Not yet has Great Britain experienced the full force of the leveling tendencies of democracy. Her civil service has not been corrupted by the spoils system; her finances are not controlled by the untrained masses; her laws are not framed at the instigation of the lobby; her diplomats are not appointed for party reasons. Her government is, accordingly, one of the most admirably conducted that the world has ever seen. Whether it will continue to be so if the professional politician thrusts aside the statesman, and the caucus exercises its pernicious sway, the future has yet to show. Undoubtedly the franchise will in time be extended to all; but it is to be hoped that universal suffrage will educate rather than impair the sturdy sense of the English people, and will complete rather than undermine the political edifice which six centuries have reared."

In presenting the struggles of the United States

the author is sound on the money question, strongly advocating the gold standard. Regarding the tariff he seems to have no well-defined opinion. He says (page 458):

“In late years the voters of the country have apparently changed their creed so many times that it is difficult to determine their attitude toward the tariff question. Hardly does one party win a victory at the polls, and acquire a handsome majority in congress, before the decision is reversed and the other party rides triumphantly into power. Hence it is almost impossible to decide whether the people of the country want a high tariff or a low one. Probably the majority have no clear or decided views upon the subject. They want a scale of duties that will establish prosperity, but they are altogether unable to make sound inferences upon so intricate a question.”

The reader is impressed with the conviction that Mr. Sears himself is one of this majority. Evidently an admirer of Grover Cleveland, he gives little weight to tariff disturbance as the cause of the industrial depression of 1893-96; while on the other hand no credit is given to the change of industrial policy to account for the unprecedented prosperity of the last three years.

The author very fully states how “the Slav, as well as the Saxon, is contributing to the world’s political development though hardly as yet to the cause of democratic government.” While he admits that “the path of political progress is supposed to lead towards democracy” he still claims, regarding the Latin nations (page 111):

“Although it is widely said that the Latin nations are in a decline, the history of the century hardly bears out this assertion. . . . Their genius is not for politics. . . . If they have not attained to political

stability, they have again and again emancipated themselves from bad government, and shown that at least they aspired to settled order and to an enlightened popular sovereignty."

While there are some nations, notably the Spanish-American, which have "shown themselves unable to understand the principles of self-government," yet the movement for constitutional government has been so widespread and so successful that one lays down this valuable book with an increased appreciation of the progress of the race during the last hundred years.

In addition to its many other attractive features, the book has an excellent index and bibliography.

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A MUNICIPAL PROGRAM. Report of a Committee of the National Municipal League, Adopted by the League November 17, 1899. Cloth, 246 pp. \$1. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This program represents the outcome of six years of investigation, conducted by the National Municipal League. In addition to the program, the book contains a brief description of municipal development in America, followed by a series of papers setting forth the more important underlying principles of many proposed reforms. These do not deal so much with social conditions as with the forms of government, probably on the theory that a clean efficient government is the first essential step towards social improvement.

Among the proposed changes in government are the separation of city from state and national politics, the cities being subject only to such state supervision as is applicable to all cities. Separation of the legislative and administrative functions of government is recommended; the former to be vested in a council provided with large powers in determining public policies, and the latter in a mayor who, like members of the council,



is elected by the people of the city. The term of office for the mayor is to be two years while that for members of the council is six. These are the only fixed terms of office. The subordinate officers, appointed by the mayor and subject to his removal, are to receive their appointments for merit, shown by competitive examinations, and no one to be removed for political reasons. These are the more important features of the program, although numerous other municipal problems are dealt with, such as education, city accounts, taxes, public indebtedness, granting of franchises, public ownership of water-works, gas-plants, street railways, etc. The report does not go to the length of recommending public ownership and operation of all these utilities, but urges that "the city should be free to choose for itself between the policy of leasing its franchises or of retaining and operating them for its own benefit in any given case;"—a proposition that even the radical individualist would hardly dispute.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE. By Norman Hapgood. Cloth, 419 pp. \$2. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Mr. Hapgood attempts to give us the personal history of Lincoln without covering up or apologizing for the things one might wish were different. These facts are faithfully recorded, but it is done with a reverent hand; it would be difficult for any true American to record this great life in any other way. We may shrink from things that seem rough, uncouth or even coarse, but after all are glad to know them. Few characters that are really great become less noble because of an honest biography.

Happily, the author has selected from both the private and public life of Lincoln those incidents which reveal his character most clearly, and has told them

in a spirit at once sympathetic and discriminating. At the close the formal biographer is dropped and an eloquent tribute is paid to Lincoln the man.

Naturally, the book recites again how Lincoln fought his way from an environment of ignorance and poverty, not in pursuit of any cheap ambition but inspired by an ever-present sense of wrongs to be righted and principles to be fought for. Indifferent to personal comfort, dreading publicity, longing for the sympathy and confidence which no one understood him well enough to give, his saving sense of humor maligned as "heartlessness," his tact and patient endurance called weakness and indifference, he performed his task in sadness and chiefly alone. To-day, the same process that reveals his shortcomings reveals better than ever the worth of the man himself, and we are able to understand him as none of his own generation did. The actual Lincoln is a more useful type than the ideal, for its practical influence upon American citizenship.

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COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE. By A. Lawrence Lowell. Cloth, 346 pp., \$1.50. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This book, prepared at the request of the American Historical Association, is the only one in any language which gives the latest method of recruiting officials for the colonies of England, Holland and France. The Association felt that such a work would be useful to the United States in establishing in the Philippines a civil service which shall be efficient and free from political influence.

The book goes too closely into detail to be of much interest to the general reader, but students of the subject and those in charge of colonial affairs will find it full of valuable information and suggestions.

Mr. Lowell is convinced that the only practical

plan for the United States is to establish a government college. Annapolis and West Point furnish efficient recruits for the army and navy, and, by avoiding the mistakes and failures of other nations and profiting by their successes, the United States ought to be able to found a college for the education of officials for our new possessions upon principles which would insure success.

The book also contains an interesting account by H. Morse Stephens, of the East India college at Haileybury,—the only educational experiment ever tried in England for the training of officers for colonial civil service.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

*The United States in the Orient.* The Nature of the Economic Problem. By Charles A. Conant. Cloth, 227 pp., \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York.

*World Politics (The Chinese Crisis) at the End of the Nineteenth Century as Influenced by the Oriental Situation.* By Professor Paul S. Reinsch, University of Wisconsin. Half leather, \$1.25 net. The Macmillan Company, New York. A fair and timely discussion of affairs in China.

*Men and Measures of Half a Century.* Sketches and Comments. By the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, secretary of the treasury in the administrations of Lincoln, Johnson and Arthur. New edition. Crown, 8vo, \$2.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

*The Works of Theodore Roosevelt, Statesman, Historian, Economist, Author and Soldier.* In fifteen volumes. 16mo. Cloth, per volume, 50c. Paper, per volume, 25c. Cloth, per set, \$7.50 Paper, per set, \$3.75. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York.



*The Law and Practice of Taxation in Missouri.* By Frederick N. Judson, of the St. Louis bar. Cloth, 358 pp. E. W. Stephens, Publisher, Columbia, Missouri.

*The Boers in War.* By Howard C. Hillegas, author of "Oom Paul's People." Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York. Elaborately illustrated with photographs taken by the author and others.

*Essays on the Monetary History of the United States.* By Charles J. Bullock, Ph.D., assistant professor of political economy in Williams College. Author of "The Finances of the United States from 1775 to 1789." Cloth, 12mo. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*William Shakespeare: Poet, Dramatist and Man.* By Hamilton W. Mabie, author of "Under the Trees," "My Study Fire," etc. Cloth, 8vo., \$6 net. Also a large paper edition limited to 150 copies, printed on Dickinson's hand-made plate paper; the illustrations printed on Japanese vellum. Bound in full white vellum with design in gold. Octavo, \$20 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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*A Century of American Diplomacy.* A Brief Review of the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1776-1876. By John W. Foster, former secretary of state of the United States, 8vo, \$3.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York.

*The Gospel of Wealth.* By Andrew Carnegie. 8vo, 350 pp., \$2. The Century Company, New York. Discussing trusts, imperialism, capital and labor, home rule in America, etc.

*A History of the American Slave Trade.* By John R. Spears, author of "A History of the Navy," "Our Navy in the War with Spain," etc. 8vo, 400 pp., \$2.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Fully illustrated by Walter Appleton Clark.

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*Introduction to Public Finance.* By Carl C. Plehn, Ph.D., Associate Professor in the University of California. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Cloth, 12mo, 384 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York.

## FROM NOVEMBER MAGAZINES

"Perhaps you wonder to find Mark Twain among the moralists at all? If so, you have read his previous books to little purpose. They are full of ethical suggestion. Sometimes, it is true, his moral decisions are a little summary. Often, nay, generally, his serious meaning is lightly veiled in paradox, exaggeration, irony. But his humor is seldom entirely irresponsible for many pages together, and it often goes very deep into human nature."—WILLIAM ARCHER, in "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg," *The Critic*.

"If a nation is in decay, the past goes for little, however glorious it may have been; but if a people be, physiologically speaking, in the ascendant, then it takes its strength or weakness from the character of its heredity. This is why the United States and Great Britain are to-day the two mightiest and most durable nations in the world. Satisfying in a high degree the conditions of social efficiency, they have both had rich race experiences, and it is these experiences which, impressed upon the structure of the individual brain, have made it strong with the whole strength of the wonderful process and story of Anglo-Saxon development."—EDMUND NOBLE, in "The Future of Russia," *The Atlantic Monthly*.

"The opportunity of a country home for those whose work calls them daily to the city keeps pace with a new devotion to all that now attracts to the country, the love of sport and any interest or diversion that calls one out into the open. Suburban living has thus come to mean something far different from what it used to be thought when a suburb was merely nearness to a great



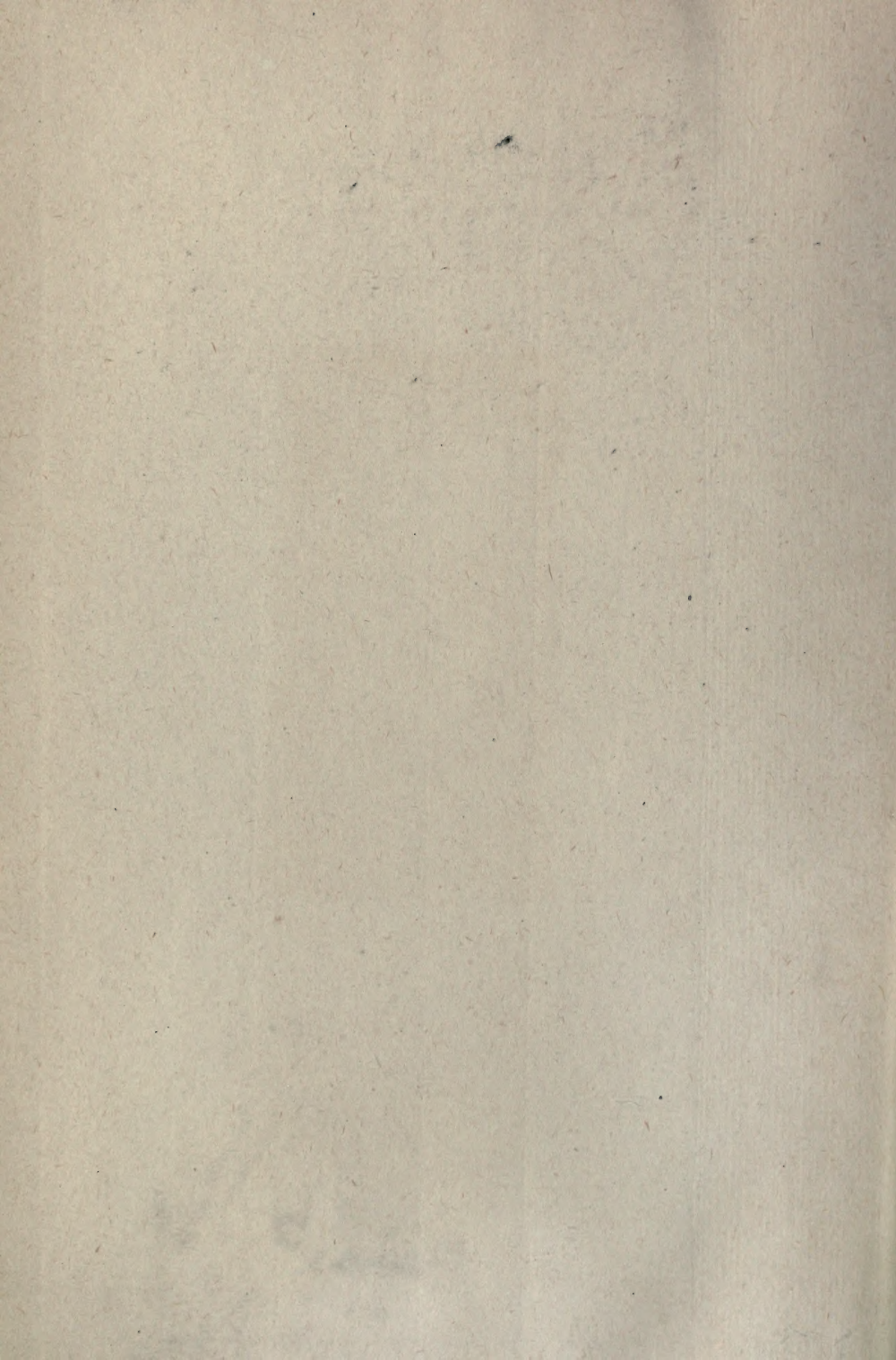
city. And with every increased remove the suburban city worker is brought closer to the genuine country, while the attraction of the city life to the country worker is distinctly lessened. So far, then, as the census shows a relatively arrested rate of increase in city population it justifies a new identification of suburb with country, and is a sign of a healthy reaction which may some day reach even the now abandoned farm."—"The Point of View," *Scribner's*.

"The republican party is in its composition quite as clearly as in its policies the true successor of the federalist and whig parties. It bears to-day the stamp of Hamilton's purpose, of Marshall's constructive bent, of Clay's fertility in makeshifts, even more legibly than of Lincoln's profound insight into the popular mind, or of Steven's Cromwellian thoroughness. . . . Of the two historical types of American character, the New England puritan and the Virginian, the former is by far the more prevalent among its members.

"No wonder, therefore, that it always goes before the people with a list of its practical achievements. Its orderly conventions are not unlike meetings of stockholders; its committees are like boards of directors. Here, one might say at almost any republican gathering in the North, is American energy, American shrewdness, American business correctness, occupied with political work. These men will go at the matter directly, they will reconcile or compromise their differences, they will waste no time with meaningless oratory, they will certainly get something done. Then each of them will go about his business. Such is the impression an observer would have got at Philadelphia last June."—WILLIAM G. BROWN, in "A Defence of American Parties," *The Atlantic Monthly*.









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